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*EDWARD Earle of CLARENDON
Lord High CHANCELLOR of England
& Chancellor of y^e University of Oxford. A.D. 1667.*

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AN
APPENDIX
TO THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Grand Rebellion.

Consisting of some
Valuable PIECES, written by
The Right Honourable
EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON.

AND
Recommended to the *Perusal* of those who have read his
former *Volumes* ; as illustrating several *PASSAGES* therein.

See Letters To which is prefix'd *Hor. Rough*
A new and particular *Account* of his Lordship's *LIFE*;
from good *Authorities*, as well as *living Information*.

Together with
A large and full *Vindication* of his *CHARACTER*.

L O N D O N:

Printed by *H. P.* for JOHN WILFORD, at
the *Three-Flower-De-Luces* in *Little-Britain*.

M. DCC. XYIV.

APPENDIX
TO THE
HISTORY
OF THE
GREAT BRITAIN

NOTABLE PIECES, collected by

**Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München**

Recommended to the Royal Society, who have read his
works; as illustrating the History of the
A. and P. and particularly Account of the
from good authorities, as well as being
Together with
A large and full Description of the Character

LONDON:
Printed by J. B. for W. and A. C. D.
the Royal Society, in 1711.
MDCCLXI.



THE
PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH the Name of Chancellor CLARENDON is sufficient to introduce any Papers into the World without a Discourse preparatory, yet, to comply with the present Custom, it was thought convenient to say somewhat particular concerning the following Pieces, and the considerable Use and Advantage they are of to the World in general; and more especially to those who read his inimitable History of the Grand Rebellion. In which History, although the Difference between the King and Parliament is set in the most fair and impartial Light; yet in so general a Work continu'd down to the Restoration, and taking in a vast Variety of Incidents; the noble Historian thought not fit to descend to Particulars of this kind, being Repetition below the
A Dignity,

The Preface.

Dignity, and beyond the reach of that Work: However, those Pieces being so rare as well as curious, we thought nothing so proper as printing this Book by way of Supplement to the other; to which we have prefix'd the Commons Resolves, shewing their first seeds of Malice, and the brave, nervous, and open Defence of the King and his Actions by this his Minister; which Work may properly be stil'd an History of the first Breach between the King and his Houses. In this Piece are so many curious particular Characters of Persons, Transactions, Customs, and Usages of the Commons, and Dues and Prerogatives of the Crown, as will open a new and very entertaining Scene even to Persons most familiar with those things; to which if we add the justness of the Stile and Expression, the Strength and Force of the Arguments, the Sharpness of the Reflections, and throughout the whole an Air and Dignity suitable to a Royal Vindication, and a glorious Cause; whoever reads it will own it to be inimitable in its kind, and invaluable.

TO these is added, the Comparison between the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Essex which, tho' written when he was young, and before he had enter'd the Stage of Business; yet
gives

The Preface.

gives us an Idea of his natural Genius, shews the early and yet just Observations he has made, and the first taste he had of finely distinguishing Men, and Things, which in his riper Years made him singular and superiour to all other Writers in that Way.

THE other Fragmenta of this great Man are some Extracts of his Speeches in Parliament after the happy Restoration; which give not only an Insight into the Affairs of that Time, but shew us, how excellently he in an exalted Station employ'd his Eloquence for the good of his Country, which he before, as a proscrib'd Person, and an Exile, had made use of for the Defence of his Prince.

TO these likewise is added his own Defence, a sad Reflection! to think that he who had defended his Prince and Country should afterwards need any himself against the Displeasure of the one, and the Malice and Accusation of the other.

AT length being banish'd his Country, and render'd incapable any longer of serving that, or his Prince: He took in Hand the noblest Cause a good Man could undertake; I mean the Defence of Religion, by answering Hobbes's pernicious Book, the Dedication of which is added (to the King) which shews this great Man in his afflicted State, with the most submis-
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The Preface.

five Duty of a Servant not by any means to be disoblig'd.

AND lastly, his Letters to the Duke and Dutcheß of York, in the latter of which you see the Picture of a most tender and indulgent Father.

THUS may this Volume give an Insight into the History of this great Man, and his Character, whether we consider him as a Writer in the first place, or in other Respects, as the brave Assertor of Loyalty in Affliction, the Director, and in great Measure the Restorer of Monarchy in Exile; the fair and candid Statesman when Chancellor, the philosophical and religious good Man in Exile, and the singular Pattern of a truly great Man in all Respects.



THE



THE
LIFE
OF THE
L. Chancellor HYDE.



WILTSHIRE, in the ancient Province of the *Belgæ*, gave Birth to this great Man, at a Village call'd *Dinton*, on the 16th. of *February*, 1608. His Father, (whose Name he bore) was a Country Gentleman descended of an ancient Family, originally of *Cheshire*, and was second Son
[a] of

of *Lawrence Hyde* of *Gassage St. Michael* in *Dorsetshire*; whose fourth Son was *Sir Alexander Hyde* of *Salisbury*, Father of *Bishop Hyde* of *Salisbury*, and *Sir Robert Hyde*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, *Sir Henry Hyde*, beheaded in *Cromwell's* Usurpation, and eight others, remarkable Men, and raised by the *Chancellor*. At fourteen Years of Age he was sent to *Oxford*, and enter'd Student in *Magdalen Hall*; whence after taking Degree of *A. B.* he was sent to the middle *Temple*, where he studied the Laws. Some Years after, *viz.* 1640, he was chosen Member of Parliament for *Wotton Bassett* in *Wilts*; but that Parliament being soon after dissolv'd, he was again chosen the same Year for *Saltash* in *Cornwal*, to serve in that long and pernicious one which succeeded it.

THE first considerable Appearance he made, was his opposing a snarling and captious Question started by *Mr. Hambden*, upon the King's Message for Subsidies; when *Vane*, by a Lye, overturn'd all, and fired the Parliament, which was the first Step toward that ruinous Rebellion that follow'd: The design of the Fanatick Party being to raise misunderstandings

standings between the King and his Parliaments, as Mr. *St. John*, after the Dissolution of that irrecoverable one express'd by a Look and Words of uncommon Satisfaction. Mr. *Hyde* at this time seem'd of the Sentiments of the more cool and judicious Part of the Parliament, who were for regulating some Extravagances of Advice to the King, and ill concerted Measures of his Ministers; and was so far in the Parliaments Favour, as to be appointed Chairman of a Committee for suppressing the Court of *York*, which extended over the four Northern Counties.

At this Time the Earl of *Strafford*, last President of that Court, being on his Trial, and several Exorbitancies being laid to his Charge in that Post, there could not but be some recital of those particular Grievances in that general Charge, which gave the Earl's Enemies great Reasons to expect Mr. *Hyde's* Concurrence with the severest of the Parliament Measures, whatsoever they before imagined; but on the contrary, the same Afternoon the Earl of *Essex* meeting him at the Bowling-green in *Piccadilly*, he told him, he had done a piece of Service he did not intend,

meaning in reviving the Heat against the Earl, by speaking against his Presidentship, and hop'd now they would proceed against him with vigor ; but Mr. *Hyde* had too much of the Patriot, and too little of the Partisan, to give in to that bloody and illegal Proceeding.

THE Earl suffered ; yet his Blood was but a taste, not sufficient to cool the Throats, much less quench the Thirst of that insatiate Party : And tho' they could not immediately point out more for the Slaughter, yet they resolv'd to remove them, which they call'd evil Counsellors from Court ; but Mr. *Hyde* soon still'd their Clamour by turning the Charge of evil Counsellors, upon one of their own Agents, and so Matters dropt.

How far his acting cautiously in these Respects might ingratiate him with the Court, does not appear ; but long it was not, before a more general and greater Affair gave him Opportunity to signalize himself in the best Cause, a brave and good Man can appear in : For looking upon the Times when he lived, that we may better discover his Action and Conduct ; we must know, that in Order to unhinge and new model our excellent Constitution in
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the State, no other Way for these restless and new fangled Men, but to begin with the Church, and therein its best Security under God and chiefest Beauty and Gracefulness of Order, that of Episcopal Government ; an Order which could by no means suit with the mean Taste of the fantastick Books they had read, their superficial Holiness, and above all, their poor and narrow Imagination added to a Hatred and Enmity of all above them. A Bill therefore being brought into the House against them, Mr. *Hyde* was put as Chairman of the Committee, where tho' he had not Opportunity of shewing his dutiful Sentiments by Speeches, as he had some time afterwards in the House ; yet he so entangled that Debate in summing up their Reasons, that the Bill, after a tedious Attendance, and indefatigable Application, was thought necessary to be laid aside for a Year.

ABOUT this Time and Affair Mr. *Hyde* protesting against some Designs of the Commons, great Clamours were made in the House to expel him ; but at length he was committed to the Tower, where after continuing a few Days, he reassum'd his Place in the House.

IN the vigorous and warm Proceedings of this Parliament, every former Grievance being rak'd into, and that of Ship-money rising fresh, they impeach'd the six Judges who had declar'd for the Legality of it. Accordingly Mr. *Hyde*, with Mr. *Pierpoint*, and *Waller*, carried it up. The Speech of Mr. *Waller* on that Occasion is printed at the End of his Poems, and the former has given us his own fill'd abundantly with Flowers of Oratory, to set off a considerable Share of Warmth against them, nor was he less industrious some Time after to join with the House, in voting the Earl *Marshall's* Proceedings, a Grievance and illegal.

THE King soon after his Return from *Scotland*, finding himself surrounded with Councillors who were no better than the Parliament Spies, and at a loss for want of faithful and discreet Men to advise him, he made choice of such of the House of Commons as had appeared the most unbiased and unprejudiced Men, and whose Proceedings, however opposite to the Court Interest, had a general Tendency to the Countries Good, and raising a calm Understanding between the King and his People. The Lord *Faulkland*, Sir
John

John Colepeper, and *Mr. Hyde*, were pitch'd upon as best qualified for that purpose: The Lord *Faulkland* was made Secretary of State; Sir *John Colepeper*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and *Mr Hyde* had the promise of something worthy his Services: The Advice and Pens of these Men were made Use of in the Disputes between the King and his two Houses; but *Mr. Hyde's* covertly; for tho' the Proceedings were debated among them, (the two first being Men of excellent Judgments, and admirably qualifi'd to advise) yet the Resolutions were drawn up, and put in Method by the latter; from the justness and perspicuity of whose Stile, and the Method so well adapted to the Subject, and Usages of the House, it was, that his Majesties Messages, Proposals, Replies, &c. met with a better Reception from the World than those of the Houses; tho' the Redundance of his Stile rather rais'd a Peevishness, than Acceptance from the Parliament.

THE Troubles of the Nation increasing, and the popular Tumults, as well as Parliamentary Designs, the King thought it most convenient to go to *York*,

as imagining by Distance, the Parliament might be brought to a better Understanding: Or if, as it too plainly appear'd, they could be brought to no Measures, that he might have Elbow-Room to defend himself, and collect his Friends about him.

MR. *Hyde*, who had been long suspected by the Parliament, even when the *Scots Treaty* was, as appears by the Caution given the Earl of *Rothes* of him, as but a rotten hearted Member, as they then term'd the Loyalists, and ever since his Management of the Bishops Bill, and his Averfion to the Severity against Lord *Strafford*; and now by the Militia Affair grew now more and more under dislike; and having concerted Measures with the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, in Order to his Journey to *York* with the Seal, he thought it not convenient to stay behind, and was Attendant with the King at the same Time he erected his Standard at *Nottingham*. It evidently appears how powerful a Man he was in the House, and how formidable his Counfels might prove to their prejudice, from the particular Heat and Revenge the Parliament exprefs'd upon this Occasion, by excepting him, in
their

their Commission to the Earl of *Essex*, from all Hopes of Favour or Pardon.

MR. *Hyde*'s Attendance on the King continu'd, and his Advice was made Use of in all the Councils, tho' as yet he had no particular Place at Court; but upon his Majesties fixing at *Oxford*, he was pleased to call him to assist in the more publick and honourable Station of a Privy Councillor, and upon the remove of Sir *John Colepeper* to the Master of the *Rolls*, he conferr'd on him the high and important Place of *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer*.

THE War had now spent its first Fury, and made Havock sufficient to require a breathing Time and Reflection, with such Attempts as might put a Stop to an Evil, of which the Beginning had been so bloody, and the Consequence would necessarily prove totally destructive to the Nation. The Parliament, with whatever real Intent, made Overtures for a Reconciliation, and *Uxbridge* was proposed as the Place of Treaty. Among the King's Commissioners was our Author, against whom the Parliament had such imbibbered Hatred, that upon receiving the King's List of Commissioners, they not only absolutely refus'd his Title of *Chancellor* of
the

the *Exchequer*, but even that of Knight-hood, which the King had lately confer-r'd, tho' the last, after much debate, they allow'd him; and as it appeared by the Earl of *Louden's* Discourse with him at that Treaty, he was more odious to the Parliament, than any other of the King's Friends, as most able and ready to oppose all such dishonourable Overtures as they should make.

THE Treaty open'd with a Discourse of Religion, and the Design of what they called reforming it; which Debate, and the other unsuccessful ones of that Meeting, were finely and judiciously drawn up, and argued to by Sir *Edward*: The particulars see in his History.

Soon after his return from this Treaty to *Oxford*, matters looking with a more desperate face than ever, and the King's safety every Day threaten'd; it was thought highly reasonable to divide the Royal Prize; that if those Beasts of Fury and Rapine should surprize the King, yet still the Hopes of Monarchy might be safe. The Prince therefore was sent to the *West*, and the King, for the better directing his Conduct, made choice of the most Wise and Prudent of his Privy Council
to

to attend him, among whom was Sir *Edward Hyde* : And the Prince, after his returning from *Bridgewater* to *Bristol*, sent him with others to *Exeter*, in order to meet the Western Commissioners, to settle the Affairs of the Contribution, and fix the matter of Jurisdiction among them, when those differences, heats and passions reign'd there so prejudicial to the King's Affairs ; and after the Return of the other Lords (joyn'd with him) to the Prince, he was left sole Manager of that Affair.

IN the *West* he continued with the Prince at *Barnstable*, during the Confusions there, of which he so warmly complains ; but the King's Affairs growing still worse, and his Majesty coming to *Ragland*, a Seat of the Earl of *Worcester's*, he sent a Message for the Lord *Colepeper*, and Sir *Edward*, to attend him as soon as possible : But the latter being not able to travel by reason of the Gout ; the Lord *Colepeper* went and found the King at *Cardiffe* in *Wales*, who return'd with the King's Directions ; that the Prince in Case of Danger should go into *France*, before whose Return, Sir *Richard Greenfield* and Lord *Goring* had applied to Sir *Edward* with Proposals for raising an Army

my of 12000 Men, which shewn to the Prince were approved off, and issued out accordingly.

UPON the Lord *Colepeper's* Return, a great Uneasiness was exprefs'd by the Council, for the Resolution taken by the King of the Prince's going to *France*, they having resolv'd before, to carry him to any Part of the World, rather than suffer him to fall into the Hands of the Rebels; but *France* was the last Place they would choose: A Vessel was always kept in readiness for that purpose, and upon Receipt of this Letter, Sir *Edward* was sent to *Pendennis* Castle, (to the securing and garrisoning which Castle, he had been before sent, with the Lord *Hopton*) to see that it might be in Readiness, and Provisions at Hand, in Case of such an Exigence: This Journey was under pretence of giving Directions about the Customs.

AFTER repeated Messages from the King for the Prince's Transportation, he remov'd from *Truro* to *Pendennis*, and thence attended by his Council, of which Sir *Edward* was chief Contriver, he took Shipping and landed at *Scilly*, and thence remov'd to *Jersey*.

It is to be observ'd, that the King's Matters growing worse, and his Hopes intirely frustrated, he repeated frequently his Charge for the Prince's going out of the Land, as absolutely necessary to bring the Parliament to better Terms of Compliance; and *Denmark*, among other Places, was nominated; but the Queen's pressing Commands prevailing, he went over to *France*, contrary to the Advice of Sir *Edward*, who strenuously oppos'd it, as apprehending the Consequences of it: This Journey of the Prince was approved of by none of his Council but the Lord *Colepeper*, the other staying behind, and Sir *Edward* continu'd with the Lords *Capel* and *Hopton*, expecting the King's further Commands, who approv'd of their Councils, but seem'd dissatisfied at their not attending the Prince into *France*, as appeared by the Discourse the King had with Sir *William Davenant* when sent from the Queen; upon which Occasion it should seem, that Sir *Edward* had some Enemies who misrepresented him, both to the King and Queen, upon this Occasion; for when the King was in the Armies Hands, and at *Hampton-Court*, the Lord *Capel* waited on him, and

and gave his Majesty the Reasons that induc'd the Council to stay behind the Prince; whereby, says Sir *Edward*, he put it out of any Bodies Power to do the *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer* any ill Offices; and the King with his own Hand wrote a very gracious Letter, and soon after sent him his own Memorials of all that pass'd from the Time Sir *Edward* left him at *Oxford*, to the Day the King left *Oxford* to go to the *Scots*; and the King, assur'd of his Fidelity, sent him strict Charge to attend the Prince whenever he or the Queen should send for him; and at the same Time sent to the Queen, that whenever any Affairs of the Prince in *France* were ripe for Action, she should send for the *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer*.

Not long after this the King was murdered, and the Prince now succeeding, swore Sir *Edward* and other Commissioners of his Father's, of his Privy Council. The first Affair Sir *Edward* appear'd in after it, was, to give a meeting to the Marquess of *Montross* at *Sevenburgh* in *Flanders*, and afterwards at a Village three or four Miles from the *Hague*, to excuse his nearer Interview with the King,

King, as improper at that Juncture of Affairs.

UPON the killing *Dorislaus*, and a Coldness and Indifference in the *Hollanders* towards his Majesty, who for that Reason was about to leave *Holland*. The Lord *Cottington*, who liv'd in the same House, and kept it with Sir *Edward Hyde*, lay'd the Design of the *Spanish* Embassy, which the King approv'd of, and nominated them both his Ambassadors extraordinary thither; but before they set out for this Embassy, it was advisable to draw up a Declaration; but it stop'd there, and was never publish'd.

AND now nothing remain'd in order to this Journey, but Money to defray their Charges, having out of 20000 *l.* lent the King by the Prince of *Orange*, only so much as defray'd their Charges to *Paris*. They embark'd for *Antwerp*, where Sir *Edward's* Lady and Family had been 10 Days, and were settled. After two or three Days stay at *Antwerp*, they went to *Brussels*, to procure Money from the Arch Duke, and the Duke of *Lorrain*; from the latter of which, having got 2000 Pistoles, they returned to *Antwerp*, to negotiate the Return of
their

their Money to *Madrid*: Hearing at
 this Place of the King's being at *Breda*,
 from whence he intended for *France*, they
 resolv'd to stay there till the King went
 by, and till the Interview with the two
 Mothers was over, that they might bet-
 ter know how the Weather would prove:
 Soon after the two Embassadors profes-
 cuted their Journey to *Paris*, and thence
 to *St. Germain's*, where the King and
 Queen Mother were; the latter of
 which finding a Reservedness in the King's
 Temper, upon a private Audience, com-
 plained of it to Sir *Edward*, which the
Chancellor reported to the King; at
 which Time he likewise oppos'd the ex-
 travagant Design of making *Windebank*
 Secretary, which was quash'd by the hu-
 m'rous Project of the Lord *Cottington*:
 About the middle of *September*, the Day
 after the King set out for *Jersey*, the two
 Embassadors for *Spain* waited on the
 Queen Mother on her return to the *Lou-
vre*; and now having provided Passes
 for their Journey, they waited on the
 Queen Mother of *France*, the Cardi-
 nal *Mazarine*, the Duke of *Orleans* and
 Prince of *Conde*; by the two first of
 which they were civilly received, by the
 Duke

Duke insolently repuls'd, and by the Prince handsomely put off from a Visit. Setting out from *Paris*, they come to *Bordeaux*, thence to *Bayonne*, &c. (The Particulars of which Journey, see in his History,) and to *Madrid*, where the Court receiv'd them handsomely enough, and pitied the King their Master's Affairs; but by Reason of the Rupture with *France*, could grant no present Assistance: By which the Ambassadors plainly perceiv'd what Interest the new created Commonwealth had over the Court, which was confirm'd by the Affair of Prince *Rupert* and his Fleet; but the King being soon after invited into *Scotland*, they perceiv'd it influenc'd the Court to respect them the more, and to redress several Grievances done to the *English* Merchants, of which they complain'd; but upon the Defeat of *Argyle's* Army the Scales turn'd again, and the Court at *Madrid* put on an Air of more Coldness and Indifference than usual; and upon *Ascham*, the Rebel's Envoy being murdered there, in which one of their Servants was concern'd, they were desir'd to leave that Court in a manner

[b] unhand-

unhandsome enough, and at a Season when they could ill Travel: But it seems, that this was not the only Reason; for they were hasten'd away, lest they should see the Furniture (which that King, as others had basely done) bought of *Cromwell*, belonging to the Royal Palaces. Here the Lord *Cottington* staid and ended his Days in *Spain*, where he was familiar, and Sir *Edward*, with Letters of Favour to the Arch-Duke, return'd to *Antwerp*, where he had the Respect of an Ambassador still paid him, being allowed a Chapel, whither those of the Church of *England* repaired, a Practice unknown there; and heavily (but to no Effect) complain'd of.

IN his Return through *France*, he waited upon the Queen Mother, who now laboured under the Concern of the Army's Defeat in *Scotland*, the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, and the unlucky Adventure of the Duke of *York* to *Brussels*; and consulting with Sir *Edward* in these Difficulties, he requir'd the Return of Liberty for Dr. *Cousins*, to read Prayers to her *English* Servants in the *Louvre*, as he had hitherto done, but was lately prohibited; but this was to
no

no Purpose : Soon after his Return to *Antwerp*, he went to *Breda*, to find the Duke of *York*, and influenced his Return to *Paris*.

The King having lost the Day at *Worcester*, and being miraculously preserv'd in his Escape, arriv'd in *Normandy*, and soon after coming to *Paris*, he sent to *Antwerp* for Sir *Edward*, which Journey Mr. *Long* endeavoured (at the Queen Mother's Influence) to prevent; not caring he should be about the King; but he being come notwithstanding, was by her receiv'd very graciously. Here he met with the Marquess of *Ormond*, with whom he had a long Friendship, and by whose Advice and Assistance the King's Affairs, while he was beyond Sea, were never better carried on.

THE Duke of *York* being spirited on by those about him to go into the Army, was dissuaded from it by Sir *Edward*; and the Queen, as well as the King, thought it not well; the Duke had been set against Sir *Edward* before; but coming to mention this Design to him, and finding him less warm, and more reserv'd than he expected, confirm'd him in this Opinion.

SIR *Edward* being now the only Counsellor of the King's Father remaining with him, he made up a Council Board, adding to him the Marquess of *Ormond*, Lord *Fermain*, Lord *Wilmot*, and resolv'd to consult them in all Affairs: And Sir *John Berkley* endeavouring after the same Honour; and not being able to influence Sir *Edward* in that Affair, broke off a close and long contracted friendship that had been between them.

THE Affair of the Duke of *York*'s going into the Army being reassumed, and a Council call'd, at which the Queen Mother, and the Duke were present, Sir *Edward* nicely manag'd that Affair, so as to oblige all Parties; and the Duke went to the Campaign, where he afterwards made so considerable a Figure.

THE Affair of Sir *Edward* dissuading the King from going to the Assembly at *Charenton*; his Consults with the Marquess of *Ormond* concerning the *Scotch* Affairs; his Address to the King to be excused from meddling, by the Reasons of the *Scottish* Aversion to him, &c. and the King's positive Persistence in it; his Sentiments in the proposed Marriage between the Duke of *York* and Mademoiselle *Longueville*;

gueville; his Exceptions to that of the King, with the Duke of *Orleans*'s Daughter; his dissuading Mr. *Wogan*'s Enterprize, &c. as they are not very material, I refer the Reader to his History.

ABOUT the Year 1656, the Queen Mother, who had long suspected Sir *Edward* for opposing her Power with the King, conceiv'd so strong an Aversion to him, that she would not speak to him, nor take the least Notice of him when she saw him, and publickly declar'd, she desired nothing more than to remove him from the King, which Sir *Edward* equally desired, if his Conscience, and the Necessity of the King's Affairs would so permit; at which Time the Presbyterians and Papists, to whom he was equally obnoxious, petitioned the King to the same Purpose, which ended in a common Table Jest: But the Queen, still implacable, complained to the Queen Regent, that Sir *Edward* raised Differences between the King and her, (which the King wittily rally'd) and continuing her Hatred upon Prince *Rupert*'s Return, and *Herbert*'s being at her Intercession made Lord Keeper, she not only perswaded the Prince that Sir *Edward* had set the King upon calling him to an Account as to the

State of his Fleet ; but her self, in order to lessen his Authority, presented a Petition, that Mr. *Long*, who had misbehaved himself, might be again restored to his Place of Secretary of State, and usual Attendance, which from his going with the King into *Scotland* to this Time, had been supply'd by Sir *Edward*; but the King absolutely refusing, another base and most incredible Expedient was us'd ; for *Long* directly charges him with High Treason, and Correspondence with *Cromwell*, and that he had been seen to go into *Cromwell's* Chamber in *Whitehall*, and continue there some Time in Conference with him ; but this Scandal was easily disprov'd by Sir *Edward's* offer to produce Witnesses where he had been for every Day since his Return from the Embassy ; and the King with some Indignation to his Accusers acquitted him ; this Plot of *Long's* appear'd more plainly after the King's Restauration ; for the Maid Servant whom *Long* offer'd to produce as an Eye Witness of Sir *Edward's* Admission to *Cromwell*, came to him, and told him, that she had been carried to *Roan*, by one *Massonet*, employ'd by *Long*, and tamper'd with by *Long* to prove it, and offered

offered Money, and a good Service at *Paris*, which when she refus'd to do, he gave her Money, and sent her back; of this Sir *Edward*, then Chancellor, inform'd the King, but upon Mr. *Long's* timely Submission he forgave him.

BUT the Queen's Designs thus baulk'd, were renew'd by the Lord Keeper *Herbert*, who at the same time charg'd him with speaking disrespectfully of the King, and the Lord *Gerrard* was produc'd to prove it; from which likewise the King acquitted him, and from that time there were no more Attempts against him: But the Queen's Anger was rais'd to that Height, that when the King was oblig'd to leave *France*, and go into *Germany*, the Queen was with much difficulty prevail'd with to see him at his Departure from the *Louvre*.

THE King now proceeding on his Journey, at *Asken* old Secretary *Nicholas* met him, to whom the King gave the Signet, which Sir *Edward* had kept for three Years, and added him to the Council, to Sir *Edward's* great Satisfaction.

It will be needless to dwell upon every little Occasion, wherein Sir *Edward* was consulted, and his Opinions given

thereon; his Discovery of *Manning's* Treason, his Journey to *Brussels*, to confer with *Don Alonso d'Cardaras*, about a Design upon *England*, &c. since it is sufficient to know that the Lord Keeper *Herbert* dying *Anno 1657*, his Majesty was pleased to deliver the great Seal to Sir *Edward*, and constitute him Lord High Chancellor of *England*.

UPON the Death of *Cromwell*, and Divisions in *England*, *Monk*, being suppos'd to have a favourable View to the King, his Friends in *England* began to entertain some Hopes of a Change; and the Year before the King's Restauration, the *Chancellor* was indefatigable in Writing Letters, Declarations, &c. to forward it; especially during that six Months the King was absent from *Brussels*. Bishop *Burnet* says, he wrote in the King's Name, and perswaded the King to write to all the Leading Men, and sent Dr. *Morley* over to talk with the Presbyterians, to ingratiate himself with them under the Notion of a Calvinist, and his Communication with * Doctor *Barwick*

* See Page, 273, &c. of this Book.

and others, shew his unwearied Diligence in that Affair : But while these things were agitating, an honourable Cloud seem'd to threaten him, for the Duke of *York* taking strong liking to Mrs. *Ann Hyde*, the Chancellor's eldest Daughter, resolv'd to marry her, which with all the Secrecy, both from the King and Chancellor, he perform'd ; this was afterwards thought a great Presumption in the *Chancellor*, as if design'd by him ; but it evidently appears, he was in no Way privy to it : However, it was of happy Consequence, producing two Queens of *England*, of which the latter for the Happiness of her Reign, her singular Piety, Munificence, and every princely Virtue, will be the Favourite Theme of the *English* Nation.

THE King restor'd, the *Chancellor* now revisited his native Country, where not long before he had been proscrib'd ; and as he had been the greatest Sharer of his Master's Sufferings, had a Share proportionable of his Glory : Soon after this, the Marquess of *Hertford* dying, the loyal University of *Oxford* made Choice of him for *Chancellor*, and he was install'd accordingly the fifteenth of *November* this Year, and the King about that time created

ted him Earl of *Clarendon*, Viscount *Cornbury*, and Baron *Hindon*.

THE Convention Meeting, he made an excellent Speech by the King's Order, desiring a Bill of Oblivion might be brought in, as the best Method to engage his Majesty to his Subjects: And speaking of this great Clemency to the People, it will be proper to take Notice that the *Chancellor* stands highly charg'd with advising the King, that not only Clemency, but signal Favours should be shown towards those who had indefatigably oppos'd his Father and himself; and at the same Time a barbarous Slight and Neglect of those who had bravely and loyally sacrificed their All, and ventured their Lives in his Service; and this upon a cursed and worse than *Machavilian* Maxim, "that to make his Enemies
 " Friends, would secure them to him; and
 " the Loyalists had given such Proofs
 " of unchang'd Fidelity, that Forgetfulness or even Persecution it self could never alter their Dictates of Honour, and
 " Conscience, and therefore might safely
 " be put off with the Satisfaction of having done their Duty". This which the *Chancellor* solemnly deny'd to the last,
 has

has been charg'd upon him; but I believe without the least Reason; a Maxim so base, as cannot be imagin'd to proceed from a Statesman, who bears a Character superior to little and base Assistances, usually called in by them; but from whatever Quarter it came, it was fatally follow'd, as in the Instance of *Shaftsbury, Anglesey, Hollis, Manchester* and *Roberts*, and Persons even at his Father's Tryal, were brought to Favour; and that restless Spirit which can never be obliged, enabled to make the End of his own Reign very uneasy; and that of his Brother's entirely miserable.

HOWEVER the *Chancellor* may stand acquitted of this heavy Charge; it is flagrantly true, that he shew'd great Countenance to some remarkable Persons of that Party, as *Dr. Owen*, who being so virulent against the martyr'd King, that it was wonder'd why he should be left out of the Act of Oblivion; yet *Sir Edward*, (says an * Author who too frequently builds on the Pamphlets of nameless Writers) treated him with Kindness and Respect, and

* *Wood Athen. Oxon.*

advised him to write against Popery; but he being taken in a Conventicle afterwards, lost his Favour.

THE Story of *Thurloe's* being discharged by him upon delivering up some Letters formerly received, is likewise asserted, but not prov'd. Sure it is, the Nation had not greater wonder at any Thing, than that Villains should be preferr'd; but whether he advised the King to so great Clemency or no, or whether (which is most probable) he only press'd to him, to stand to his Promises, which himself had made in his Name, and of which he kept an exact Register; we have great Reason to bless his Memory, for dissuading the King from accepting that Load of Prerogative which the Parliament in violent Extrems would have heap'd upon him, and which must inevitably have enslav'd the Nation, and subjected us to the Fury of those fatal Councils, which shortly after took Place; though *Dr. Burnet* would persuade us, the unconditional receiving the King through his Perswasions, gave Way for them: But this is certain, that he took Care neither to load the Prerogative, or encroach upon the Liberties; and therefore he would neither set aside
the

the Petition of Right, nor endeavour to raise the Star Chamber, or high Commission Courts again, when it was easily in his Power ; neither did he endeavour to repeal the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, till other matters were well settled ; tho at the same time he took Care to repeal all Things extorted by the long Parliament from King *Charles* the First, and to settle the Militia Affair ; but other Acts relating to the Prerogative, he did not touch upon, as Tonnage, Poundage, Shipmoney, &c. and when he might have ask'd, and had granted two Millions for the standing Revenue, he ask'd but 1200000 *l. per Annum*, which he thought would still put the King upon necessity of having Recourse to his Parliaments ; of this the King was afterwards sensible, and hated him mortally upon that Account ; and was apt when any difficulty happened to him, to say, *All might have been prevented, if the Earl of Clarendon had been true to him.* This just and regular Conduct of the *Chancellor*, is, by a late * Historian, said to be occasioned

* Burnet's *History of his Times.*

by a Domestick Accident, which was this: " When he first began to grow
 " eminent in his Profession of the Law,
 " he went down to visit his Father in
 " *Wiltshire*; who one Day as they were
 " walking in the Fields together, observ'd to him, that Men of his Profession
 " were apt to stretch the Prerogative too
 " far, and injure Liberty; but charg'd
 " him, if ever he came to any Eminence
 " in his Profession, never to sacrifice the
 " Laws and Liberties of his Country, to his
 " own Interests; or the Will of his Prince:
 " He repeated this twice, and immediately
 " fell into a Fit of the Apoplexy, of
 " which he died in a few Hours; and
 " this Advice had so lasting an Influence
 " on him, that he ever after observ'd and
 " pursu'd it.

AFTER the Infurrection of *Venner*, and the Fifth-monarchy Men, it was proposed, that a Number of standing Forces should be continued to preserve the King's Person, and quell any sudden Tumults; but the ill Effects of this being too apparent, the *Chancellor* influenced the King to lay aside any such Design; the Bill of Indemnity was the next thing in Agitation; to the passing which, the Chancellor

for earnestly press'd the King, and which he perswaded him to adhere to, in the most solemn Manner, since the breaking of Faith in that Point must for ever destroy Confidence. This gave great Offence to the Cavaliers, who, in mockery, were us'd to call it, an *Act of Oblivion and Indemnity*, saying the King had pass'd an Act of Oblivion for his Friends, and Indemnity for his Enemies : And in the Disposal of Places of Trust and Profit, there was too little Regard had to Merit and Sufferings ; but these are thought to arise from the Cabals at Mrs. *Palmer's*, rather than from the Chancellor ; but what served to make him most hated by the Cavaliers, was vindicating his Master's Actions ; and when they complain'd of hard Usage, he was apt to beat down the Value of their Services.

About this Time the Lord Chancellor's Daughter call'd upon the Duke to own his Marriage, she being big with Child : This the Duke, as some say, endeavour'd to divert her from, both by Threatenings and Promises ; but she, being a Woman of Spirit, insisted upon the Marriage, which was confirm'd by some Bishops ordered to inspect into it. This the
Chan-

Chancellor's Enemies were not a little gald of, as what they thought would create Jealousy in the King, of the Chancellor's adhering to his Brother's Interests, and charg'd him with laying the Design; but the Chancellor solemnly declar'd his Ignorance of the Affair, till it was publick; and was so far from being elevated by it, that, with some concern, he told his Son, he look'd upon it as that which must be all their Ruin sooner or later; however, the King had then that Value for him, that rather than break with him, he told the Duke of *York*, he must drink as he had brew'd, and live with her as a Wife, since he had made her such.

AND now, as if every Thing conspir'd to give the Chancellor's Enemies a Handle against him, *Foquet* the *French* Minister, sent over to the King, to concert Measures for an Alliance with the two Nations, and the *Portugal* Match was propos'd, which brought with it the expensive, and, at last, useless Dowry of *Tangier*; but what was worse, a Woman incapable of the End of Marriage of such Importance to Princes, as was then given out, but falsely; for

for the King, in a Letter to the Chancellor, the next Day tells him, the Marriage was consummated, and he was well pleased with her ; and the King himself reported, she was once with Child ; and Dr. *Willis*, the great Physician, asserted, that she had once miscarried, and was so far advanc'd, that with Care, the Sex might have been distinguish'd : However, she prov'd after a barren Wife, and was much flighted : And this was charg'd as the Chancellor's Design, that his Daughter might in time come to be Queen ; but the Chancellor always protested he had no other Hand in the Matter than as a Chancellor. What further help'd to create him Enemies, was the *Bartholomew* Act, which was said to be push'd forward by him ; and enforc'd by Stratagems, but falsely ; which Act, however Just and reasonable in it self, was called the Heat of Persecution, and said to be kindled from his Quarter ; and indeed, that excellent Zeal he express'd for the Church and Episcopacy was made no small Use of to blacken him ; nor did he better express that Zeal in Regard to the Dissenters, than to the Papists, by pro-

curing an Act to be made, declaring it High Treason to say the King was of that Perswasion. By this Means showing the King how odious that Religion was to his Friends, and qualifying the Designs of Cardinal *de Rhetz*, who had been over, in order to make Way for it in *England*.

AND now that Church began to make Head against him, for the Earl of *Bristol* procuring a Toleration in Religion, which, tho' pretended chiefly for Dissenters, was design'd for Papists, the Chancellor and Bishops opposed it in Council; but however it pass'd; and *Bristol* of the one Side, and *Buckingham* on the other, violently exclaim'd against him for his Opposition. Soon after the Church Party were alarm'd at *Bristol's* Designs, and the Chancellor's Friends laid open and exclaimed against his Proceedings, which made *Bristol* his irreconcilable Enemy, as appear'd shortly after; for upon this, he drew up Articles of Impeachment against him, and shew'd them the King, who perswaded him from them in a mild Manner; but the Earl in Answer told him, that if he forsook him, he would raise such Disorders, that all
Eng-

England should feel them, and the King himself should not be without a large Share in them; at which the King was so provok'd, that he durst not trust himself with answering him, but went out of the Room. Whatsoever secret the Earl of *Bristol* knew, the King was so influenc'd, that he, the next Day carried the Charge, which first charg'd the Chancellor with raising Jealousies of the King's being a Papist, and of Corresponding with the Court of *Rome*, to make the Lord *Aubigny* a Cardinal, and other mixt incoherent Stuff: This *Bristol* was so far from standing to, that upon putting it in, he absconded for fear; and having written a Letter to the Lords of the Danger of the Duke of *York's* having Guards, there was a Proclamation to sieze him; but his Malice against the Chancellor he soon after effectually wrought out.

THE *French* Interest now working, the *Dutch* War broke out at this Time, against which the Chancellor was most violently set; but he had no Interest, for *Palmer* had intirely influenc'd the King against him, as one whom she most intolerably hated, for his freedom of Speech to the King on her Account; his never

paying Visits to her ; and above all, his never suffering any Thing to pass the Seals, in which her Name was mention'd ; and to increase the Number of his Enemies, *Clifford* a Papist, and Leading Man, upon the Chancellor's declining to stand well with him, struck in to his Enemies, and assisted in his Ruin.

It is to be observ'd, that soon before the breaking out of the *Dutch* War, the King had given him a large Piece of Ground near St. *James's*, to build a House on, which by extravagant Management of the Workmen, was made larger by much than heintended, and the Expence encreased to 50000 *l.* three Times as much as he design'd : This, by Way of Derision, they call'd *Dunkirk-House*, as built with the Money for which that Place was sold, which was impudently laid to his Charge. Others call'd it *Holland-House*, as built with Money from the States to oppose that War. The Envy this House would raise him, he was sensible of, and said it would ruin him. Another Accident was, his buying up the Rubbish Stones of St. *Pauls* towards that Building, which was likewise represented in a heinous Manner.

Nicho-

Nicholas's Remove, *Bennet's* Rise, and *Southampton's* Death, all conspir'd to his downfal ; *Castlemain* the Mistrefs, and the Cabal all fet against him ; the Treasury was put in Commission, and he not interested there ; and the King, who stood but ill with his Parliament, thought the disgracing this Minister would oblige them ; the Marriage with the Infanta was reviv'd against him ; and *Clifford*, *Osborn*, *Ker*, *Littleton*, and *Seimour*, assured the King they intended, upon the Restauration, to have rais'd his Authority, but *Clarendon* oppos'd it, which increas'd the King's Hatred ; who having given himself up to Pleasure and Ease, was weary of the *Chancellor's* Authority and Freedom ; This was further heightned by the Disappointment of the Dutches of *Richmond*. And now the King consulted with *Lauderdale* about it, and told him, Arch-bishop *Sheldon* had approv'd of the disgracing him, and ask'd him if he had not, to which the Arch-bishop, instead of gratifying him, made answer : Sir, *I wish that you would put away this Woman that you keep ;* at which Reproof the King was much displeas'd. Certain it is, the King had entertained a very great Aversion to him,

[c 3]

and

and what rendered him the most despicable in his Eyes, was the scandalous Practices of blackening and ridicule.

IN Order to which, *Marvel*, a vile and scurrilous Writer, who justly deserv'd the Scourge and severest Correction, rather than the Character of Wit, was employ'd to write *Clarendon's House-Warming*, his *Epitaph*, and under Sir *John Denham's* Name, his *Directions to a Painter*; for which Pieces, tho' the Printer was pilloried, yet the Faction were wonderfully fond of them. And that insolent Buffoon Lord, the Duke of *Buckingham*, in Conjunction with another Profligate of his own Quality, and the Merry Andrew of the Faction, *Collonel Titus*, were employed, since they could not make him appear base to the King, to make him ridiculous, telling his Majesty, when they saw the Chancellor pass by, there goes your School-Master; and the Duke of *Buckingham* would mimick him in the King's Presence, would strut, put forward his Belly, (for the Chancellor was a fat Man) and carry a Pair of Bellows before him for the Purse, while *Titus* march'd before with a Fire Shovel for the Mace, and

and this Monkey-Diversion pleas'd the King too much.

AND now the King resolv'd upon delivering up his true and faithful Minister, who had not, indeed, for five Years before, any absolute Power in the Management, not even from the King's Marriage; and therefore on the thirteenth of *August*, the King took from him the Great-Seal, and gave it to Sir *Orlando Bridgman*; and thus gave up his old faithful Servant, to those who never left him till they had hunted him into Banishment.

THUS expos'd to the Fury of the Commons, on the 26th of *October*, Mr. *Seymour* charg'd him in that House with many high Crimes and Miscarriages. Upon which the House enter'd into warm Debate how they should proceed, whether by direct Impeachment in their Name, or by examining Witnesses first, to secure the Charge: At length upon searching Records, and producing many Precedents, they proceeded, and several of the old Faction were chief Managers against him; but for him were the best and most honourable of the Members, amongst whom his Son Mr. *Laurence Hyde*,

was ordered by the Chancellor to offer, if they made good one Article against him, to allow all the rest. The Articles upon which he was impeach'd were as follows.

I. THAT the Earl of *Clarendon* hath design'd a standing Army to be raised, and to govern the Kingdom thereby, and advised the King to dissolve this present Parliament; to lay aside all Thoughts of Parliaments for the future; to govern by a military Power, and to maintain the same by free Quarter and Contribution.

II. THAT he hath, in the Hearing of the King's Subjects, falsely and seditiously said, that the King was in his Heart a Papist, or popishly affected, or Words to that Effect.

III. THAT he hath received great Sums of Money for the procuring of the *Canary* Patent, and other illegal Patents, and granted illegal Injunctions to stop Proceedings at Law against them, and other illegal Patents formerly granted.

IV. THAT he hath advised and procured divers of his Majesties Subjects to be imprisoned against Law in remote Islands, Garrisons, and other Places, thereby

by to prevent them from the Benefit of the Law, and to produce Precedents for the imprisoning any other of his Majesties Subjects in like Manner.

V. THAT he procured his Majesties Customs to be farmed at under Rates, knowing the same, and great, pretended Debts to be paid by his Majesty, to the Payment of which his Majesty was not in Strictness Bound, and afterwards receiv'd Sums of Money for procuring the same.

VI. THAT he received great Sums of Money from the Company of Vintners, or some of them, or their Agents, for enhancing the Prices of Wines, and for freeing them from Payment of Legal Penalties which they had incurred.

VII. THAT he hath in a short Time gained to himself a greater Estate than can be imagin'd to be gained lawfully in so short a Time, and contrary to his Oath he hath procured several Grants under the Seal from his Majesty to himself and Relations, of several of his Majesties Lands, Hereditaments and Leases, to the disprofit of his Majesty.

VIII. THAT he hath introduced an Arbitrary Government in his Majesties Foreign Plantations, and hath caused such
as

as complain'd thereof before his Majesty and Council, to be imprison'd for so doing.

IX. THAT he did reject and frustrate a Proposal and Undertaking, approv'd by his Majesty for the Preservation of *Nevis*, and *St. Christophers*, and reducing the *French* Plantations to his Majesties Obedience, after the Commissions were drawn for that Purpose, which was the Occasion of our great Losses and Damage in those Parts.

X. THAT he held Correspondence with *Cromwell* and his Complices, when he was in Parts beyond the Seas attending his Majesty, and thereby adhered to the King's Enemies.

XI. THAT he advised and effected the Sale of *Dunkirk* to the *French* King, being Part of his Majesty's Dominions; together with the Ammunition, Artillery, and all Sorts of Stores, there, and for no greater Value, than the said Ammunition, Artillery, and Stores were worth.

XII. THAT the said Earl did unduly cause his Majesty's Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of *England*, to one Doctor *Crowther* to be alter'd, and the Enrolment thereof to be unduly rased,

XIII.

XIII. THAT he hath, in an Arbitrary Way, examin'd and drawn into Question divers of his Majesty's Subjects, concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods, Chattels, and Properties, determin'd thereof at the Council Table, and stop'd Proceedings at Law by Order of the Council Table, and threatened some that pleaded the Statute of 17 Car. I.

XIV. THAT he hath caused *Quo Warranto's* to be issued out against most of the Corporations of *England* immediately after their Charters were confirmed by an Act of Parliament, to the Intent he might require great Sums of Money of them for renewing their Charters, which when they comply'd withal, he caused the said *Quo Warranto's* to be discharg'd, and Prosecution therein to cease.

XV. THAT he procured the Bills of Settlement of *Ireland*, and receiv'd great Sums of Money for the same in a most corrupt and unlawful Manner.

XVI. THAT he hath deluded and betrayed his Majesty and the Nation in all Foreign Treaties and Negotiations relating to the late War, and betray'd and discovered his Majesty's Secret Councils to his Enemies.

XVII,

XVII. That he was a principal Author of that fatal Council of dividing the Fleet about *June* 1666.

WHICH Articles, being read, were offer'd to be prov'd by several of the Members, but only by Surmise and Hear-say; accordingly the twelfth of *November*, Mr. *Seymour* carried up an Impeachment of High Treason against him to the Bar of the House of Lords, and desir'd he might be committed to safe Custody, till the Commons should make good their Charge; but the Lords, dissatisfied at this general Way of proceeding, sent to the Commons on the fifteenth of *November*, to desire a Conference in the Painted Chamber, where they informed them, that they had not confin'd the Earl of *Clarendon*, nor sequester'd him from Parliament, it being against the *Petition of Right* so to do, till particular Treason was charg'd against him: This occasion'd warm Debates and Reflections among the Commons; at the Head of whom was Sir *John Vaughan*, who had been intimate with Sir *Edward*; but upon the Restoration not meeting with that Favour he expected, he made a strong Party against him.

THE Lords persisting, as in Justice they ought, the Commons were so highly enrag'd, as to resolve, that their *non Concurrence* in committing the Earl of *Clarendon*, was an Obstruction to the publick Justice of the Kingdom, and a Precedent of evil and dangerous Consequence. Matters running thus high, the Earl thought it high time to avoid the Storm, and the King to avoid the Heat of Parliament intimated, that *Clarendon* should go over Sea; and let fall some kind Expressions, upon which he, who was all Obedience, in the Beginning of *December*, withdrew, and went into *Normandy*, Sir *Stephen Fox* being the last he saw, to whom he said " dear Sir *Stephen*, give my humble
 " Service and hearty Thanks to all my
 " Friends you meet with, and let them
 " know from me, that if they can but
 " forgive the folly of the great House,
 " they shall never have Reason to be
 " ashamed or repent of whatsoever they
 " have done for me."

AT this withdrawing, he left a *Petition* to the House of Lords which is printed; this the Lords receiv'd on the third of *December*, and sent two of the Judges to acquaint the Commons of it, and
 desir'd

desir'd a Conference, where the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom the Earl Points at in his *Petition*, according to his fleering manner, delivering it to the Commons, " desir'd them, in convenient Time, to send it to them again, for it had a Stile which they were in love with, and desired to keep it."

UPON this, the Heat of the House of Commons increas'd, and they voted the Paper scandalous and malicious, a reproach to the Justice of the Nation, and that it should be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman, and on the thirteenth of *December*, the Lords sent down a Bill for banishing the Earl of *Clarendon*; the Commons were for issuing out a Proclamation for the apprehending him, which the Lords oppos'd, and so the Bill pass'd a Majority of twenty three, at which the King was much censur'd, and the Duke of *York*, and he, were strange for some Time.

THUS fell this great and excellent Minister, a Victim to two powerful Factions, and a Sacrifice to Integrity, Religion and Loyalty; the Causes of this fall, and secret Springs towards it have afforded matter for various Conjecture, tho' there

there appears no Room to doubt, but the Influence of the Queen Mother at the Head of the Popish Party on one Hand, and the Envy and Restlessness of the Faction on the other, occasion'd it: And both these equally misrepresented him to the King, who himself had, it is said, some Reasons to wish it; for besides, that the Earl had an Air of Haughtiness and Severity ill becoming the Freedom of a Court made up of gaiety and ridicule; he was a too nice Observer of the King's Actions; and being intent on nothing more than the good of the Nation, he did not endeavour to make himself so agreeable to his Majesty, as consisted with discreet Caution. Some think his disappointing the King of the Lady *Stuart*, whom he fancy'd, gave his Majesty a dislike to him, as appear'd by the violent Passion he express'd to Lord *Cornbury*, whom by accident he met coming from that Lady's Lodgings the Day of her remove. Others that his obstructing the Parliament Offers of Prerogative and Revenue; but the main Reason was, as the King tells the Duke of *Ormond*, the Chancellor's Friend, in a Letter, on this Occasion, *his insupportable Temper*; and we find the King very
ready

ready and willing to declare to the Parliament upon taking the Seals from him, that *he would never employ him in any Place again*; and the Day after his flight, divested him of the Office of a Privy Councillor, and reprimanded Sir *Stephen Fox*, for voting in the Commons on his Behalf, calling it *voting against his Majesty's Inclinations*; and not content with his Fall, endeavour'd to blacken and make him odious, and said a great many hard Things of him, for which he was much blamed, and but a little believ'd; whatever the Motives were, it was sure a hard and ungenerous Usage for the King so ignominiously to sacrifice one of the faithfullest Servants to his Father and himself, one by whom his Affairs had been judiciously managed from his Childhood, and to whose discreet Counsels, and indefatigable Application, he might in a great Measure, owe the Return to his Kingdom; to suffer him after he had spent his Strength in his Service, and before he had rested from the Fatigue of Exile, to repeat it in his old Age, laden with Infirmities and invented Reproach.

THE Place of his Residence was at *Roan* in *Normandy*, where he continued seven Years to the Time of his Death; and in this Place he put in Order his *History of the Grand Rebellion*, and wrote several other Pieces, amongst the rest, an Answer to that pernicious Book Mr. *Hobbes's Leviathan*, which he dedicates to the King, but with Directions that *if the King declin'd accepting it, the Dedication should be omitted*, and subscribes himself, *his most faithful and obedient Subject, and one of the oldest Servants living to his Father and himself*; this Piece was written at *Moulins* one Year before his death, and six after his Exile, at which time he says, “*He sustain'd his weak and decay'd Spirits, with the Hope and Confidence that the King would at some time call to his Remembrance his long and incorrupted Fidelity and Service*”.

See Page
307 of this
Book.

NOR did he in his Recess make the Defence of Monarchy, less his Care than that of Religion, which he vindicated in his Animadversions on *Cressy's* Book against Dr. *Stillingfleet*, to which add his two Letters, one to his Daughter the Dutchess of *York*, and another to the

Duke, upon a report of their Inclinations to Popery; but the Dutcheſs dyed before it came to *England*, and unhappily in the Romiſh Perſuaſion.

HIS Exile afforded no Subject for Hiſtory, by reaſon of the privacy of it, and he was quickly forgotten in *England*, and paſt Hopes of ſeeing it again, for had he liv'd till the Death of King *Charles* he would have found his Eſtate ſtill as deſperate by reaſon of the Diſturbances and Meaſures enſuing it.

AFTER ſeven Years ſpent thus, and long vexed with the Gout which his Watchings, Studies, &c. for the King's Affairs brought upon him, a violent fit of it put an end to his Banishment and convey'd him to that happier Home, where no Party or Faction, no Envy or Detraction are to influence an all-good and all bountiful Maſter to forget or ſlight thoſe who ſpend their Time in a ſtrict and indefatigable Attendance and Application to his Service; this happen'd on the 9th of *December*, 1674. His Body was embalm'd put in a Leaden-coffin and brought over into *England*, and repoſited in the Sacriſtory ſurrounding St. *Edward's* Shrine in the Abby Church of *Westminster*,

minster, with his Feet touching the middle of the lowest Step ascending to *Henry the VII's Chapel*.

THUS died the best good Minister that *England* has ever yet produc'd, the fittest Servant for his martyr'd Prince, and a fine Copy of him in less, of whom it is doubtful to say whether his Piety, Loyalty, or popular Integrity, were most predominant; the old King, who knew how to value sincere Merit, and despis'd those mean Artifices of State Fraud which if practic'd might have prevented his fatal overthrow, and express'd a just Sense of his Servants Fidelity in his Answer to Sir *William Dav'nant* sent by the Queen Mother to complain of him, *That the Chancellor was an honest Man, and would never desert him nor the Prince, nor the Church*; and the same Opinion had all the glorious Fellow Sufferers with that Prince, the old Marquess of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, &c. But in this bare Character without the Assistances of Cunning he was the Character he gives of Archbishop *Laud*, " He believed Innocence of Heart and Integrity of Manners was a Guard strong enough to secure any Man in his Voyage
[d 2] " through

“ through the World in what Company
 “ soever he travell’d ; ” Certain it is,
 the Administration was never happier
 moderated than when when he was alone
 at the Helm, and Things wore a much
 more confus’d Face, when other Steers-
 men succeeded ; so that what his Son
 Mr. *Lawrence Hyde* generously mention-
 ed in the House upon a Reflection made
 on him after his Death, viz. 1680, was
 admirably Just, when reflecting upon
 their raking into his Ashes he observ’d,
 “ That he and his Family had suffer’d
 “ enough by his Misfortunes occasion’d
 “ by dark Interests and Intreagues of
 “ State, that many Thought he was se-
 “ verely chastis’d when living, that he
 “ was sorry to see some others could not
 “ spare him though dead ; but that for
 “ his Comfort, he had heard, that he was
 “ a good Protestant, a good Chancellor,
 “ and that we had worse Ministers since”.
 If he was too favourable to the Faction
 (which is what is chiefly endeavour’d
 to be prov’d,) he severely suffer’d by that
 Power himself had screen’d. But in one
 Word it is to his Honour and will be
 so to future Ages, that whatever secret
 Springs or hellish Devices brought about
 his

his Disgrace, the Persons whoa ppear'd in it, were equally Enemies to the Church, and Monarchy, and he seems to have suffer'd for nothing more, than Religion, and Love of his Country.

BUT lest the Accusations of his Enemies should have the least Colour of Truth for want of direct Contradiction, and his own Merits shine in a Mist for want of true Light, and distinct Proof.

I direct the Reader to his Vindication; which, however ridiculous esteem'd then, See Page 257 of this Book.

has since had an implicate Reverence paid it; and to back this, I shall mention a plain Instance of the Integrity and Sincerity of this Man which was this, “about

“ the Year 1662, when Mons. *Fouquet* Burnet's History of his Times, p. 167.

“ upon *Mazarine's* decline of Health

“ gain'd an Ascendant in the *French*

“ Councils, he sent Overtures for an Alli-

“ ance between *France* and *England*;

“ these were principally address'd to the

“ Earl of *Clarendon*, and amongst them

“ the Match with *Portugal* was one, *Fou-*

“ *quet* desir'd to engage in a particular

“ Friendship with him, and sent him

“ the Offer of 10000 *l.* and Assurance

“ of it yearly. *Clarendon* assur'd him he

“ would lay all before the King, and

[d 3]

“ give

“ give him a speedy Answer; but for
 “ what related to himself, he said, he
 “ serv’d a great and bountiful Master,
 “ who knew how to reward and sup-
 “ port his Servants: He would ever
 “ serve him faithfully, and because he
 “ knew he must serve those from whom
 “ he had it, he rejected it with great in-
 “ dignation. He laid before the King
 “ the Proposals for the Alliance; and
 “ next told both the King and his Bro-
 “ ther what was offer’d himself, upon
 “ which they both advis’d him to ac-
 “ cept it, why said he, have you a Mind
 “ I should betray you, the King an-
 “ swer’d he knew nothing could cor-
 “ rupt him. Then said he, you know
 “ me better than I do my self; for if I
 “ take the Money I shall find the sweet
 “ of it and study to deserve it, that it
 “ may be continu’d. And thereupon
 “ warn’d the King of the ill Consequence
 “ of having Ministers Pensioners to
 “ foreign Courts”.

THE same Historian clears him from
 the Sale of *Dunkirk*, in the plainest and
 most convincing manner, as he does like-
 wise of the *Portugal* Match, that of his
 Daughter, and the most material Heads
 of

of his Accusation; and leaves only that to his charge which will eternally redound to his Glory, “an obstinate Goodness, which would neither sooth nor connive at the Pleasures of a Prince given too much up to ease; and a Court entirely poison’d by Debauch”. But take his Character in the Words of that Historian, who is so little apt to praise any thing, that, where he bestows it (as in this case he does) exclusive of party; we must suppose something extraordinary to engage it.

Bp. Burnet's History of his Times.

“THE Earl of *Clarendon* was bred to the Law, and was like to grow eminent in his Profession when the Wars began. He distinguish’d himself so in the House of Commons, that he became considerable, and was much trusted all the while the King was at *Oxford*. He staid beyond Sea, following the King’s Fortune till the Restoration; and was now an absolute Favourite, and the chief or the only Minister, but with too magisterial a Way. He was always pressing the King to mind his Affairs, but in vain. He was a good Chancellor, only a

“ little too rough, but very impartial in
 “ the Administration of Justice. He
 “ never seem’d to understand foreign
 “ Affairs well: And he meddled too
 “ much in them. He had too much
 “ Levity in his Wit, and did not al-
 “ ways observe the Decorum of his
 “ Post. He was high, and was apt to
 “ reject those who address’d themselves
 “ to him with too much Contempt.
 “ He had such a Regard to the King,
 “ that when Places were disposed of,
 “ even otherwise than he advis’d, yet
 “ he would justify what the King did,
 “ and disparage the Pretensions of o-
 “ thers, not without some Scorn; which
 “ created him many Enemies. He was
 “ indefatigable in Business, tho’ the
 “ Gout did after disable him from
 “ waiting on the King: Yet, during
 “ his Credit, the King came constan-
 “ tly to him when he was laid up by
 “ it”.

THUS far Dr. *Burnet*; but that I may
 add the utmost Honour to this great
 Man’s Memory; I shall extract another
 Character from the excellent, and une-
 quall’d

quall'd Preface to his History, the ingenious Writer of which (who was known to the Chancellor) seems to have form'd the most noble as well as just Idea of him and his Affairs; who descends not into Particulars of his Life, but describes *a great and superiour Minister, and in some Degree a Favourite, who made an excellent Figure for about two Years after the Restoration of his Master, who during that Time relied entirely on his Advice and Conduct,* “ who tho' join'd in Council with other Honourable Persons, as “ the Earl of *Southampton*, the Duke “ of *Albermarle*, the Marquiss of *Ormond*, Earl of *Sandwich*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, yet *had the Preference of* “ them all in the King's Favour and Esteem, by his Prudence, Knowledge, “ and Experience, in which he shar'd “ with them, and his indefatigable Labour and Pains, wherein it is most “ certain they did not share with him. “ He had the Happiness (without their “ Envy and with their Concurrence) to “ have the greatest share in disposing “ the Minds of the People and the King “ to agree then on such Measures in Parliament, as laid the Foundation of that “ Peace,

“ Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity, we have
 “ since enjoy’d; and goes further”, that
 he had the greatest Share in preserving
 the Constitution of the Government;
 when the People *were too ready to go in-*
to any undue Compliance with the Crown,
 and by the Acts of Oblivion, of confirm-
 ing judicial Proceedings, and of uniformi-
 ty; *by which* the Church of *England*
 was reduc’d from the Oppressions it had
 lain under, and establish’d and set up by
 the Laws of the Land. It was whilst
 he was in Credit, King *Charles* declar’d
 in his Speech “ *That* in all his Delibera-
 “ tions and Actions his principal Confide-
 “ ration should be, what will a Parlia-
 “ ment think of them. Having thus
 shewn the great and good Minister with
 excellent Reflections on his Conduct, he
 endeavours after Reasons *how he came* to
 lessen in his Credit, and afterwards in the
 Space of five Years to fall quite out of
 that King’s Favour, and be disgrac’d; in
 which, touching on the Articles of Im-
 peachment, he says that the Sons of the
 Chancellor would omit no Occasion of
 justifying their Father’s Innocency; if there
 “ were at this time of Day any need so
 “ to do, but that the World had lasted
 “ long

“ long enough since the Death of this
 “ Honourable Person, to be thoroughly
 “ convinc’d, that there was nothing in
 “ all those Articles exhibited against him
 “ in Parliament, that did in the least
 “ touch or concern him; and that there
 “ is no need now of the Vindication of
 “ such a Man, whom every Body in their
 “ Consciences do not only acquit of any
 “ Crime; but all good Men speak of
 “ with Honour, and who still lives in
 “ the Opinion of all true *Englishmen* in as
 “ high a Reputation as any Man to this
 “ Day”. But in the handsomest and
 most modest Manner imaginable, consi-
 ders, that the good Natur’d Prince, King
Charles II was in this Case prevail’d on
 to the hard usage of the most faithful and
 ancient Servant then alive to his Father
 and *himself*, and not only so, but *to* con-
 sent to an Act of Parliament, that oblig’d
 this his poor Servant to end his Days in
 Banishment with old Age and Infirmi-
 ties to attend him; and that it might be
 thought a little hard-hearted to inflict this
 upon a Man who had the Honour and
 Happiness in the more vigorous part
 of his Life to have led the King him-
 self through his own Exile, with Credit
 and

and Dignity; and with more Honour and Reputation than usually attends unfortunate *Princes that are depriv'd of their own Dominions*; and at last had the Happiness to have so considerable a share in the Conduct of the Restoration, by the Correspondence he kept in *England*, and the fine Picture he drew of the King in his Letters to his Friends. And lastly, by his Letters from *Breda*, so admirable as to be all of them soon after turn'd into Acts of Parliament. This Gentleman answers the Objection of the Duke of *York's* Marriage, and tells us the King's extraordinary Assurances soon after that Accident gave no room for such a Displeasure: This however, was by "those
 " wicked Men, his Accusers, made Advantage of, to accuse his Innocence;
 " who suggested that to satisfy his Ambition he would forfeit his Integrity, and makes (on this Occasion) the Observation *Tacitus* does on *Granus Marcellus* his being accus'd to have spoken ill of the Emperours. *Inevitable crimen, nam quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur*; which he applies to the Children born consequent to the Duke's Marriage, and the Barrenness of the Royal Bed, giving Grounds for

for a double Accufation of the Chancellor's being concern'd in both. He proceeds to clear the Chancellor from advising the Marriage with *Spain*, and the Calumny of advising the King to reward his Enemies and flight his Friends, from which he thus finely clears him. " God
 " forgive (fays he) the Inventors and Con-
 " trivers of that foul Calumny ; but by
 " his almighty Providence, it was not
 " long before that Party was difabus'd :
 " For tho' the Chancellor, for some time,
 " bore the blame, that they had not been
 " more confider'd ; it was quickly found
 " that it was not from him, but from
 " the mistaken Politicks of the Statesmen
 " that they were design'd to be neglec-
 " ted ; nor did they find themselves more
 " taken Notice of after his removal " ;
 but these were too flight and unreafon-
 able, frivolous, and unjust, to raife the
 King's Displeasure, who wanted not the
 nicest Penetration ; but the Powers were
 the Papists, and the Ladies ; the first,
 fearful of his defeating their Projects a-
 gainst the King's Interest, and the other
 against his Credit and Reputation ; for
 the Chancellor had several times taken
 the liberty with the King to talk the
 private

private scandal of their Lives, and the publick one of their Conversations. The King (continues he) who expected ease by getting rid of this old importunate Councillor, who had Courage to tell him bold Truths had no ease ever after; and those Women and Factions grew too hard for him, and made him in some Hours of his Life "*wish he had his old Chancellor again*, whom he knew a better Pilot than his new Statfemen". He lastly closes the Character in this fine and pathetick Manner: "Whatever misfortunes he might have in his Life, whatever Enemies he might have had; or whatever Errors he might have committed (which few Men in his high Station escape quite clear of) we presume to think he deserves, from all impartial Men, the Praise of an honest, just, and able Servant to the Church and Crown, and so to be rank'd amongst the great and good Ministers of State".

An

*An Account of the Writings of the
Earl of CLARENDON (exclusive
of his History of the Grand Re-
bellion) from Wood's Athenæ,
Vol. II. p. 534.*

SEVERAL Speeches, as (1) *Speech in the House of Lords concerning the Lord President's Court and Council in the North, Ann. 1640.* (2) *Speech at a Conference between both Houses, July 6. 1641. at the transmission of several Impeachments against the Lord Chief Baron Davenport, Baron Trevor, and Baron Weston. See Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. Part 2. Ann. 1640. as also Vol. III. of Part 2. p. 1056, 1360; and in Nalson's Collections.*

SEVERAL Speeches in Parliament during his Chancellorship, from the Restoration of King Charles II. to 1667. *Vide Specimen, p. 285 of this Appendix.*

A full Answer to an infamous, and trayterous Pamphlet, entituled, *A Declaration of the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, expressing their Reasons and Grounds of passing their late Resolutions touching no farther Address or Application to be made to the King.* *Vide p. 35. of this Appendix.*

THE humble Petition and Address to the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled — This was by command of the Parliament burnt by the Hands
of

of the Common Hang-man before the Gate of *Gresham College*, then the Place of Exchange, *December 12, 1667.* See p. 297.

THE Difference and Disparity between the Estates and Conditions of *George Duke of Buckingham*, and *Robert Earl of Essex.* See p. 247.

ANIMADVERSIONS on a Book entituled *Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church*, by *Dr. Stillingfleet*, and the *Imputation refuted and retorted*, by *Serenus Cressy.*

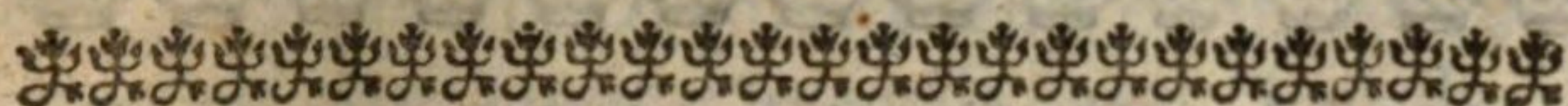
BRIEF View and Survey of the dangerous and pernicious Errors to Church and State, in *Mr. Hobbes's Book* entituled *Leviathan.*

HIS Letters to the Duke and Dutches of *York*, see p. 313.

HE the said *Earl of Clarendon* hath also written;

I. *A History; or, Historical Account of Ireland;* which *Book Edmund Borlace* made use of without acknowledgment, in his *Book or Books* which he publish'd concerning the Affairs of that Kingdom: So I find it in *Dr. Nalson's Preface* to the 2d Vol. of his *Collections.* N. B. This Manuscript has been since printed under the Title of *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland: By Edward Earl of Clarendon;* with the *Attestation* of the present *Arch-Bishop of Dublin.*

II. ALTERATIONS in, and Additions to a Book entituled, *A Collection of the Orders heretofore used in Chancery:* London, 1661, Octavo, done by and with the Advice and Assistance of *Sir Harbottle Grimston* Baronet, Master of the Rolls.



*A Postscript to the foregoing
Life of the Earl of CLAREN-
DON.*

To the EDITOR.

Richmond, Jan. 15, 1724.

S I R,

I Have perused the Sheets your Book-
seller sent me, and think them a very
proper APPENDIX to the Earl of *Claren-
don's* History; and that you have shewn an
equal Honesty and Judgment in the com-
piling of this Volume.

I heartily wish, upon the Publication that
it may meet with such an Encouragement
as it really deserves: But, I am surprized
that in his Lordship's Life one remarkable
Incident should be omitted, which is the
villainous Attempt made upon him in his
Exile, and which I herewith Communi-
cate to you under the Sanction of an un-
doubted Authority.

THE *Original*, from whence I transcrib-
ed the following Letter, is repositd in
the *Bodleian Library at Oxford.*

[e]

To



To the Right Honourable Sir William Coventry, Secretary of State.

S I R,

A B A T I N G all Complements which though you may merit, your Modesty was always so far averse to, as not to be able to suffer them; I shall give you all the News we have stirring here, which is as follows: As I was travelling from *Rouen* towards *Orleans*, it was my Fortune, *April 23, N. S.* to overtake the Earl of CLARENDON, (then in his unhappy, and unmerited Exile) who was going towards *Bourbon*, but took up his Lodging at a private House in a *small wall'd Town* call'd *Eureux* some Leagues from *Rouen*: I, as most *English* Gentlemen did, to so valuable a Patriot, went to pay him a Visit near Supper-time, where he was, as usual, very civil to me; before Supper was done, twenty or thirty *English* Sea-men and more came and demanded Entrance at the great Gate, which being strongly barr'd, kept them out for some Time, but in a short space they brake it, and presently drove all they found, by their Advantage of Numbers, into the Earl's Chamber, where by the Assistance of but three Swords and Pistols, we kept them out for half an Hour,

Hour, in which Dispute many of us were wounded by their Swords and Pistols, whereof they had many. To conclude, they broke the Windows and Doors, and under the Conduct of one *Howard*, an *Irish* Man (who has three Brothers, as I am told, in the Service of the KING of *England*) and an Ensign in this Company of Canoneers, who quickly found the Earl on his Bed, not able to stand by the violence of the *Gout*, where, after they had given him many Blows with their Swords and Staves, mix'd with horrid Curses and Oaths, they dragg'd him on the Ground into the middle of the Yard, where they encompass'd him around with their Swords; and after they had told him in their own Language, how *he had sold the Kingdom, and robb'd them of their Pay*; *Howard* commanded them all, as one Man to run their Swords through his Body; but what Difference arose among themselves before they could agree, God above, who alone sent this Spirit of Dissention, only knows. In this Interval, their Lieutenant, one *Swaine*, came and disarmed them, sixteen of the Ring-leaders were put into Prison, and many of those things they had rifled from him found again, which were restored and of great Value. *Monsieur la Founte*, a great Man, belonging to the KING of *France's* Bed-Chamber, sent to conduct the

the

the Earl on his Way hither, was so desperately wounded in the Head, that there was little Hopes of his Life. Many of these Assassins were grievously wounded, and this heinous Action is so much repented by all here, that many of these Criminals will meet with an Usage equal to their Merit: Had we been sufficiently provided with Fire-Arms, we had infallibly done ourselves Justice on them; but we fear not, but the Law will supply our Defect.

SIR, here is no more News, than that a Peace, some say, is concluded, a Truce is certainly finish'd. Service and Respects to all our mutual Friends and Acquaintance, whom nothing but the Service of my Country, to whom we all owe our best Abilities, should give any hindrance to the Presence in *England* of

Your humble Servant,

Eureux in *Normandy*, April
26, 1668.

OLIVER LONG.

†*† Mr. *Echard* in his GAZETTER tells us, that *Eureux* is a rich and flourishing City of France in the upper *Normandy*, and Baliwick of *Eureux*; a Bishoprick under the Archbishop of *Rouen*, 24 Miles South of *Rouen*, as many North West of *Breux*, and 58 almost West of *Paris*. But this small City might easily be taken for no other than a Town, by any Traveller.

A



The Second

Additional VOLUME
TO THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Grand Rebellion.

BY
EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON.





The Second

Additional Volume

TO THE

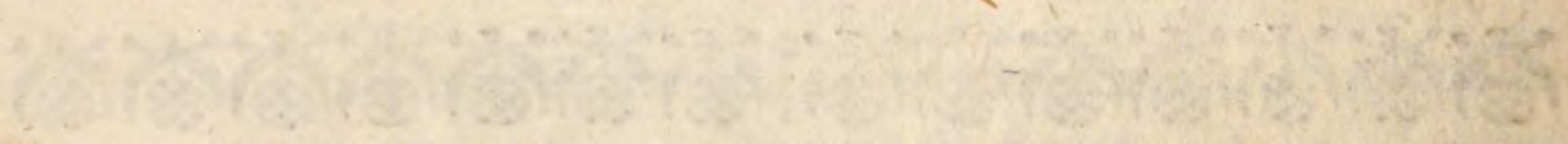
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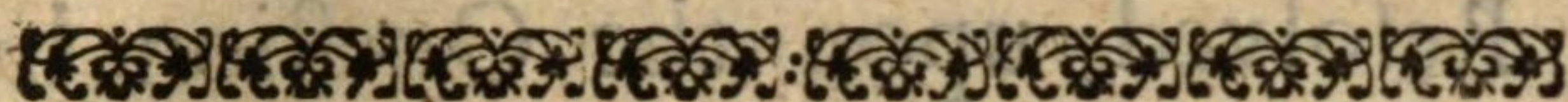
OF THE

Island of Scotland.

BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.





A

DECLARATION

OF THE

COMMONS

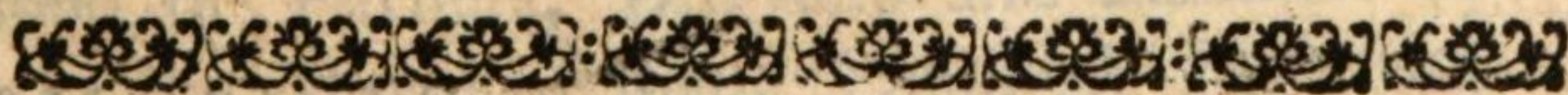
Assembled in PARLIAMENT,

Est. Libris Expressing the *How/brugh*

REASONS

Of these ensuing

RESOLUTIONS, &c.



B

Resolved upon the Question by
the Lords and Commons in Par-
liament assembled,

THAT they do declare, That they will
make no further Addresses or Application
to the King.

Resolved upon the Question by the
Lords and Commons,

THAT no Application or Addresses be made
to the King by any Person whatsoever,
without the Leave of both Houses.

Resolved upon the Question by
the Lords and Commons,

THAT the Person or Persons that shall
make breach of this Order, shall incur the
Penalties of High Treason.

Resolved upon the Question by
the Lords and Commons,

THAT they do Declare, That they will re-
ceive no more any Message from the King;
and do enjoin, That no Person whatsoever do
presume to receive or bring any Message from the
King to both or either of the Houses of Parlia-
ment, or to any other Person.

REASONS



REASONS

Of the Foregoing

RESOLUTIONS.



OW fruitless our former Addresses, have been, to the King, is so well known to the World, that it may be expected we should now declare, Why we made the last, or so many before, rather than why we are resolved to make no more.

WE cannot acknowledge any great Confidence, that our Words could have been more persuasive with Him, than Sighs and Groans, the Tears and crying Blood, (an heavy Cry!) the Blood of Fathers, Brothers and Children at once, the Blood of many Hundred Thousand Free-born Subjects in Three great Kingdoms,

which Cruelty itself could not but pity to destroy.

WE must not be so unthankful to God, as to forget we never were forced to any Treaty; and yet we have no less than Seven times made such Applications to the King, and tendred such Propositions, that might occasion the World to judge, We have not only yielded up our Wills and Affections, but our Reason also and Judgment, for obtaining any true Peace or good Accommodation.

BUT it never yet pleased the King to accept of any Tender fit for us to make, nor yet to offer any fit for us to receive.

IT is very well known, That the Propositions sent to the King at *Oxford*, and Treated on at *Uxbridge*, were agreed by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, not only as Just, but Necessary also, for the very Being of these Kingdoms in a settled Peace and Safety.

AND, although the King's persisting in his wonted Ways and Denyals, might have caused us to improve the Advantage of that great Success (which it pleased God to afford us.) Yet when his Armies were all broken, so that in Disguise he fled from *Oxford* to the Scots at *Newark*, and from thence went to *Newcastle*; and that *Oxford*, and almost all his Garrisons were taken, We tendred, at *Newcastle*, Propositions, the same, in effect, which had been presented before in the midst of all his Strength and Forces.

AND

A N D notwithstanding this Change of His Condition, and Denyal of those Propositions, after He was left to the Commissioners of Parliament, and our Brethren of *Scotland* quietly departed Home; after all His Garrisons taken, and no visible Force in the whole Kingdom appearing for Him, the King being at the sole Disposing of the Parliament without Dispute; yet even then the same Propositions were again presented to Him at *Hampton Court*.

I N all which Addresses the Commissioners of *Scotland* agreed with us, and joyned with our Commissioners in attending the King.

T H E King not granting our Propositions, but, still giving such strange, unexpected, and conditional Answers or Denials, it might justly have made us consider some other Course for settling the Kingdom in Peace and Safety, without any further Application; which was also so far agreed by our Brethren of *Scotland* (at their leaving *Newcastle*) that their Commissioners declared, in case the King consented not to the Propositions, Yet they would maintain the Treaties and Union made between the Kingdoms.

B U T so desirous were we of His Concurrence in the Settlement of the Kingdom's Peace, that we yet again resolved upon another Address; and did so qualify the said Propositions, that where it might stand with the Publick Safety, His wonted Scruples and Objections were prevented or removed.

AND although we could not forget how Dangerous and void of Success our former Treaties had been, and that a Personal Treaty had been declared by both Houses, and the Commissioners of *Scotland*, to be unsafe, without Security and Satisfaction first given; yet we also yielded to that, on Condition the King would sign but Four Bills, which we judged not only Just and Honourable, but Necessary even for present Peace and Safety during such a Treaty.

WE have Cause enough to remember, That He sometimes deny'd to receive our humble Petition for Peace; and when we desir'd him to appoint some place for a Committee of both Houses to attend Him with Propositions for Peace, He named *Windsor*; promising to abide thereabouts 'till they came unto Him: But presently marched forward (that very Night) so near *London*, that he had almost surprized it, while he had so engaged Himself for a Treaty, had not some few of our Foot at *Brainford*, with invincible Courage, expos'd themselves to apparent Death, 'till his Army was forced to retire in Fear and Shame, with the Guilt of most inhumane and barbarous Cruelties committed at *Brainford*, to assure *London* what it must have expected, had not God prevented those bloody Designs.

AND we well remember, That the King once sent us a specious Message of renewing a Treaty, when at the same time His Messenger

ger was instructed how to manage that bloody Massacre in *London*, which was then designed by vertue of the King's Commission, since published.

AND about the Time of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, He excused himself to the Queen by a Letter under his own Hand, as forced to that Treaty by the mutinous Motions of his Mungrel Parliament at *Oxford*; and that he could not find any two of them of his Mind, else he would not have acknowledged us for the Parliament of *England*; which yet he did, with a Protestation, entred into the Council-Books, That his calling us so, did not make us a Parliament.

ALL which was but small Encouragement, again, to make ourselves his Sport and Scorn, by any other Treaty; yet we now yielded to this also.

BUT notwithstanding this and all former Tenders, we have now receiv'd such a Denial, that we are in Despair of any good by Addresses to the King, neither must we be so injurious to the People, in further delaying their Settlement, as any more to press his Consent to these or any other Propositions.

NOR can we see why it should be expected a new Engagement could prevail on him, or oblige him more strongly to the Kingdom, than the solemn Oath of his Coronation, and the several other Vows, Protestations, and Imprecations so frequently by him broken, during

his whole Reign, and so often renewed before God and the whole World.

WE may be the more justify'd herein by those that know what passed between the King and our Brethren the *Scots*, when those Articles were agreed and confirm'd in the first Pacification not long before these Wars; which, as soon as their Backs were turn'd, and their Armies out of fight, were disavowed again by the King, and, by his Command, publickly burnt at *London* by the Hands of the Hangman.

WHICH yet might have been forgotten, had not a continued Track of breach of Trust in the three Kingdoms, since he wore the Crown, made us (though unwilling) to remember it.

WE take no Pleasure to repeat our own Miseries, or others Mischief, if it might be hidden or forgotten: But we are now forced to speak what hath long been suffered in too much silence.

HIMSELF in publick Speeches and Declarations, hath laid a fit Foundation for all Tyranny, by this most destructive Maxim or Principle, which he saith he must avow, *That he oweth an Accompt of his Actions to none but God alone; and, That the Houses of Parliament, joynt or separate, have no Power either to make or declare any Law.*

THE private Articles agreed, in order to the Match with *Spain*, and those other Private

vate

vate Articles upon the *French* Marriage, so prejudicial to the Peace, Safety, Laws, Religion here established; and the continued Correspondence which hath since been carried on with *Rome*, are so evident as cannot be denied.

WE cannot but call to mind the Proceedings and Passages of the Parliament held in the second Year of this King's Reign, concerning the Death of his Royal Father.

THE Tenth of *May* 1626, the House of Commons charged the Duke of *Buckingham*, among other Things, in these Words; (*viz.*)

WHEREAS the sworn Physitians of our late Sovereign Lord, King JAMES, of blessed Memory, attending on his Majesty, in the Month of March, in the two and Twentieth of his most glorious Reign, in the Times of his Sicknes, being an Ague, did, in due and necessary Care of, and for the Recovery of his Health, and Preservation of his Person, upon, and after several mature Consultations in that behalf had, and holden at several Times in the same Month, resolve and gave Directions, That nothing should be applied or given unto his Highness, by way of Physick or Dyet, during his said Sicknes, but by and upon their general Advice and Consents: And after good Deliberation thereof first had, more especially by their like Care, and upon like Consultations, did justly resolve, and publickly give Warning to, and for all the Gentlemen and other Servants

vants and Officers of his said late Majesty's Bed-chamber, that no Meat or Drink whatsoever, should be given unto him, within two or three Hours, next before the usual Time of and for the coming of his Fit in the said Ague, nor during the continuance thereof, nor afterwards, until his cold Fit were past. The said Duke of Buckingham being a sworn Servant of his late Majesty, of and in his Majesty's said Bed-chamber, contrary to his Duty, and the tender Respect which he ought to have had of his Majesty's most sacred Person; and after the Consultations, Resolutions, Directions and Warning aforesaid, did, nevertheless, without any sufficient Warrant in that behalf, unduly cause and procure certain Plaisters, and a certain Drink or Potion to be provided for the Use of his said Majesty, without the Direction or Privy of his said late Majesty's Physicians, not prepared by any of his Majesty's sworn Apothecaries or Chyrurgeons, but compounded of several Ingredients to them unknown: Notwithstanding the same Plaister, or some Plaister, like thereunto, having been formerly administred unto his said Majesty, did procure such ill Effects, as that some of the said sworn Physicians did altogether disallow thereof, and utterly refused to meddle any further with his said Majesty, until those Plaisters were removed, as being prejudicial to the Health of his Majesty. Yet, nevertheless, the same Plaister, as also a Drink or Potion, was provided by him the said Duke, which he the said Duke, by colour of some
insuffi-

insufficient and slight Pretences, did, upon Monday the one and twentieth Day of March, in the two and twentieth Year aforesaid, when his Majesty (by the Judgment of his said Physicians) was in the declination of his Disease, cause and procure the said Plaister to be applied to the Breast and Wrists of his said late Majesty; and then also, at and in his Majesty's Fit of his said Ague, the same Monday, and at several times, within two Hours before the coming of the same Fit, and before his Majesty's then cold Fit was passed, did deliver, and cause to be delivered, several quantities of the said Drink, or Potion to his late Majesty; who thereupon, at the same times, within the Seasons in that behalf prohibited by his Majesty's Physicians as aforesaid, did by the Means and Procurement of the said Duke, drink, and take divers quantities of the said Drink or Potion, applied and given unto, and taken and received by his said Majesty as aforesaid, great Distempers, and divers ill Symptoms appear'd upon his said Majesty; insomuch that the said Physicians finding his Majesty the next Morning much worse in the estate of his Health, and holding a Consultation thereabout, did by joynt consent, send unto the said Duke, praying him not to adventure to minister unto his Majesty, any more Physick without their Allowance and Approbation: And his said Majesty himself, finding himself much diseased and afflicted with Pain and Sickness after his then Fit, when by the Course of his Disease, he expected Intermission and Ease,
did

did attribute the Cause of such his Trouble unto the said Plaister and Drink, which the said Duke had so given, and caused to be administred unto him; which said adventurous Act, by a Person obliged in Duty and Thankfulness, done to the Person of so great a King, after the ill Success of the like formerly administred, contrary to such Directions as aforesaid, and accompanied with so unhappy an Event, to the great Grief and Discomfort of all his Majesty's Subjects in general, is an Offence and Misdemeanor of so high a Nature, as may justly be called, and is by the said Commons deemed to be, An Act of Transcendent Presumption, and of dangerous Consequence.

And deliver'd it at a Conference to the Lords.

AFTER which the King came into the Lords House and took notice of that Charge, and told them he could be a Witness to clear him in every one of them; unto which Charge, no Answer came in until the eighth of June following, and the tenth Day after it was ordered by the House of Peers, to be communicated to the House of Commons: But while the House was preparing to send up their Proofs upon which they declared, that they doubted not but to have Judgment against the said Duke, the King expressed a sudden Purpose to dissolve the Parliament; and altho' the House of Peers

Peers petition'd for its continuance, expressing their great and universal Sorrow for his Intentions to dissolve it, yet, notwithstanding all this, the said Parliament was dissolved the fifteenth Day of the same *June*.

AT the same Time also, during the Parliament, Sir *Dudley Diggs* and Sir *John Elliot*, who specially managed that Conference and Examinations, were committed close Prisoners to the *Tower*, within two Days after the said Charge, by Warrant under the King's own Hand.

AND Messages and Interruptions were constantly sent from the King to the Houses while they had the said Charge in Agitation; and the Parliament being dissolved before Justice could be done, there never was any legal Enquiry made at any time since, concerning the Death of the said King.

WE leave the World now to judge where the Guilt of this remains.

WE can fully shew how *Roche* was, by him, betray'd, and thereby a fatal Blow given to the Protestant Cause in *France*; How also he lent divers of the Navy Royal, and other Merchant-ships, to the *French* King, to be employ'd against those whom he was engag'd to have assisted. And when some of the Commanders and others in those Ships, were so much *English* as to dispute those Orders; we can shew the King's Letter under his own Hand to Captain *Penington*, to put them into the Service

vice of the *French* King, or to sink them in case of refusal.

WE cannot forget the Designs to enslave us by the *German-Horse* (that we say nothing of the late *Spanish* Fleet, with a great Army therein, brought into the *Downs*, 1639.) and to grind us by enforced Loans, Privy-Seals, Coat and Conduct Money, enlarging of Forests, inclosing of Commons, ingrossing of Gunpowder, with innumerable Patents and Monopolies of Malt, Salt, Sea-cole, Soap, Leather, Wine, Sugar, Allom, Farthings, Pins, Tobacco, and almost all Things else; together with that one compendium of all Oppression and Slavery, called Ship-Money.

THE torture of our Bodies, by most cruel Whippings, flitting of Noses, cutting off Ears, branding of Cheeks, Racks and Pillories, with close Imprisonment at pleasure, might be the sooner forgotten, had not our Souls been also lorded over, led captive into Superstition and Idolatry, triumphed on by Oaths *ex Officio*, Excommunications, Ceremonious Articles, new Canons, Canon-Oaths, &c.

ONE Thing more was found, to make us worse than Slaves, in that we might not hope for Liberty: The very Name of Parliament became so odious at the Court, that if in twelve Years time there was so much as one summoned, it served but to shew the lawless Power of those that could not be content, only to dissolve it at pleasure, but we must be forbidden by

by Proclamation, to speak or hope for another Parliament: And at such Dissolutions, there was no Privilege strong enough to secure the Closets, Cabinets, Pockets and Persons of those that in Duty and Conscience did but vote or act as Men above meer Slaves: This was Fault enough for close Imprisonment and Death; for that hath also followed.

NOR was it enough thus to enslave one Kingdom, but the same Projectors who had so enthralled *England*, must contrive also to reduce *Ireland*, and conform *Scotland*, that so the mingling of Neighbour-tears, might, by Sympathy, increase each others Wo.

SCOTLAND was to be the first Scene, where a new Liturgy, with new Canons, are to make the Prologue to the following Act.

THIS not succeeding as was hoped, an Army must be raised to force Compliance; but by the mediation of the *English* Lords, a Pacification is concluded; and it held till the King's return to Court, made him forget and disavow it: But the burnt Articles left Ashes enough to beget a new Flame.

THERE wanted but a Form of Law to make all Just: For this, and for Supply, not for Advice, a Parliament is ventur'd on; yet with Proviso, that it should not hurt, although it would not help; and not complying, (as was hoped, to assist that War against the *Scots*) was Crime enough to merit Dissolution with a false

false and scandalous Declaration in the King's Name.

THE Parliament being dissolved, the King took from his Subjects by Power, what he could not otherwise obtain.

WE need not tell the World how in the midst of all our Miseries, the *Scots* (our Brethren) entered with a powerful Army, marching on as Friends, 'till they were forced to make their Passage over *Tine*.

IT was then thought necessary by the King, to summon this present Parliament; in which we did proceed with Ease, so long as there was but any Hope we would comply with him against the *Scots*, and give Assistance to that War.

BUT he quickly found it vain to hope to be supply'd by us against the *Scots*: And when we began to consider, how we came to be again involved in a new War (notwithstanding the late Pacification) we saw it impossible to quash those pernicious Counsels at the present, or to prevent them for the future, without questioning their Authors: At this the King discovered himself so strongly and passionately affected to such malignant Counsellors, and their Counsels, that he would sooner desert or force this Parliament and Kingdom, than alter his Course, and deliver up his wicked Counsellors to Law and Justice.

BY this time, the Queen's pious Design (as they termed it) to advance Popery, was almost ready

ready for the Birth, being helped much by a Popish Fast, enjoyn'd weekly by the Pope's *Nuncio*, and by Letters from Secretary *Windebanck*, who durst not abide Examination, but after he was question'd by the House of Commons, got a Pass from the King to go beyond Sea.

W H A T was done abroad will hereafter appear, altho' the King made light of all our Intelligence from foreign Parts; yet he could not so well avoid or deny the Commissions given at Court to Popish Agents for private Levies; or that the Papists began to rise and arm themselves in the *North-west* of *England* and *Wales*, till they were suppressed; or that there were Regiments raising and listing in *London*, and Parts adjoining, under Pretence of Soldiers for *Portugal*; or that some of these came to seize and possess themselves of the *Tower*, and the Lieutenant threatned for refusing them; all which he knew might be sufficiently proved.

T O the like pious Design we may refer the great Cabal for bringing up the Northern Army to over-awe the Parliament, which the King did so often and solemnly disavow, *as nothing but loose Discourses of a modest Petition, which also vanish'd two or three Months* (he saith) *before we knew it.*

B U T he now knoweth, we can prove the chief Part of that Cabal came from himself to the main Actors, and that some of them did dissuade him from his Way, because it was so sharp and high, exceeding the Limits of Ho-

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nour

nour and Law: And yet their Propositions, which were the lower way, were much above the size of Petitions, as they are already published in their own Confessions. And it is very strange, Mr. *Percy*, Sir *John Suckling*, and Mr. *Germin* (sent away by the King's special Warrant) should fly beyond Sea, only upon discovery of a modest Petition.

BUT notwithstanding any Diffusions, yet the King persisted in his Way; so that after this, there was appointed a meeting of Officers at *Burrough-bridge*, and Propositions made, with private Instructions brought from the King, by some that told them, *They were unwise to shew their Teeth, except they would bite*; and that the King would pawn his Jewels for them, would they be faithful to him; and if they marched forward, they should be met by the Prince and the Earl of *Newcastle* with a good body of Horse; and that the *French* also would be ready to assist them.

THIS was in *April*, and we had notice of this in the beginning of *May*, when also there was a Design for some *French* to have seized on *Portsmouth*, whither the Queen was then going; but the Ports were better secured by a special Committee.

SO far was it also from vanishing divers Months before our notice, that some of those Cabalists, after examination by us, were again attempted by the King, and some of them sent again to the Army with new Instructions and
Directions,

Directions, signed by the King himself, as most clearly appeareth by comparing the Journals of *May 1641* with the Months following; together with the Time specify'd in the Confessions of *Sir Jacob Astley*, *Sir John Conyers*, *Collonel Legg* and others, already published.

AND when there was yet demur among the chief Officers, there went another Agent from Court, to quicken them, and treat of some Directions signed by the King: But he was to go farther, the *Scots Army* being then at *Newcastle*.

WHAT Offers were made to them of the plunder of *London*, if they would advance, or of four Northern Counties, with three hundred thousand Pounds, or Jewels of great value, but to stand Neuters in that Design, is already declared by some, who may better know the Propositions made by *Oneal* (who brake Prison here) *Sir John Hinderson* and others, with Letters of Credence from the King: After that he was so resolute to go into *Scotland*, that he could not be perswaded by our Petitions, to defer that Journey; and though in the Year 1641, he was not pleased to leave such a Commission as the Parliament desired of him, yet he was pleased before, in the Year 1639 to intrust Secretary *Windebank*, a known Favourer of Papists, with blank Sheets both of Parchment and Paper, signed with his Sign Manual, which were employ'd by him for disposing great Commands by Land and Sea.

IT is well known what Letters the King sent into *Ireland* by the Lord *Dillon*, immediately before the Rebellion, and where the great Seal of *Scotland* was, and in whose Hands, when that Commission was sealed at *Edenburgh* to the *Irish* Rebels, who dispersed Copies thereof in *Ireland*, with Letters or Proclamations, and we have a Copy thereof attested by Oath, with Depositions also of those who have seen it under the Seal.

WHICH Commission was promised (as some of the chiefest Rebels confessed) to the *Irish* Committee at *London*, for the most part Papists, (which was thought a good Omen) and since most active Rebels, upon whose private Mediation, the King gave away more than five Counties, saying, That he expected they should recompence him some other way: And, that he would willingly grant all their Desires, but he was oppressed by the Parliament in *England*, of whom he wished he could be revenged.

IT hath formerly been declared, how we desired and pressed the King to disband that *Irish* Popish Army, which (as was cleared at the Earl of *Strafford's* Tryal) was raised to reduce the Kingdoms: But sometimes he would give no Answer at all, and sometimes did plainly tell us, He could not disband it for Reasons best known to himself: Sometimes the *Scots* must first disband; and then there was a new Pretence of divers Regiments promised to *Spain*, for which the King was engaged, and could not go back.

WHICH

WHICH we now wonder not at, for by the Confession of *Mac Carte* and *Macguire*, with others, it is clear, that this Pretence of Men for the King of *Spain's* Service, was but a Colour to keep some in Arms for a Foundation of that Rebellion; and that some of the Committee coming from *London*, contrived this Plot for defence of the King, who was then, (they said) so much injured in *England* and *Scotland*.

AND the first Clause of that Oath enjoyn'd by the general Counsel of Rebels, was, To bear true Faith and Allegiance to King *Charles*, and by all Means to maintain his Royal Prerogative against the Puritans in the Parliament of *England*.

AND although we declared to the King, That they stil'd themselves the Kings or Queen's Army, yet we could not obtain a Proclamation against them in divers Months, and then also but forty Copies might be Printed, and expresse Order given, That none should be Published till his further Directions, as appeareth under his own Secretary's Hand.

WHICH might very well stand with the Letters from Court to the Lord *Muskery* (a great Rebel in *Munster*) who was assured, his Majesty was well pleased with what he did, and would, in time, give him Thanks for it, although, for the present, it did not stand with the Convenience of the King's Affairs, to give him publick Countenance; and this was afterwards made good by the King, who, in one of

the Letters taken at *Naseby*, commandeth the Earl of *Ormond* to give particular Thanks to the said *Muskery* and *Plunkett*.

W E may yet remember how the Earl of *Leicester* was delay'd and detain'd by the King (beyond all Pretence) from going against the Rebels.

H O W also the King refused a Commission (often asked by both Houses) for the Lord *Brooks* and Lord *Wharton*, when at several times there were large Provisions made for relief of *Munster*, and other Parts so much distressed, that *Limrick* was wholly lost.

B U T when the Rebels wanted Commanders at their very beginning, we have long since named divers Papists and Persons of Quality, that by the King's special Warrants, after the Ports were shut by both Houses of Parliament, passed hence, and headed the said Rebels.

A N D we likewise named Commanders and Officers, whom the King called off from their Trust against the Rebels, and Ships from their Guards at Sea, that so the Rebels might be supply'd with Foreign Aids, besides all the Arms and Ammunition they had from the King's Magazines there, and from hence also, by the Earl of *Antrim*, Lord *Aboin* and others from the Queen, altho' the Council of *Ireland* desiring some Pieces of Battery from hence, for the poor Protestants there, could not obtain them from the King: But some of our Ships sent to relieve them, were seized by his Men of War (as the Cloaths and other Provisions

fions by Land) and sold or exchang'd for Arms and Ammunition for the King: And the Rebels gave Letters of Mart for taking the Parliament's Ships, but freed the King's as their very good Friends.

LET the World now judge, how much Reason we had to believe the Rebels, when they did so often swear, they did nothing without good Authority and Commission from the King; so that Sir *Phelim Oneale* would not be persuaded, General *Lesley* had any Authority from the King against the Rebels.

DIVERS Months also before it began, there was Information given upon Oath, to the Archbishop and others of the King's Council, That there was a great Design among the Papists for a general Massacre of all the Protestants in *Ireland* and *England* also, and that a great Royal Person had a Hand in it, but it was to be managed by direction from the Pope.

AND besides the King's Letters to the Pope, when he was in *Spain*, and others long since his return, on the behalf of the Duke of *Lorrain*, (which must be requited by the said Duke with a Foreign Army to invade *England* upon the King's Design.) It is clear, that some Months before the *Irish* Rebellion, the King had an Agent in *Rome*, as by divers of his own Secretary's Papers appeareth.

AND that the same Designs were laid for *England* also at the same time, if we might not believe the Confession of the Queen-Mother's

Servant, (attested upon Oath) that there were many Thousands appointed to cut the Protestants Throats in this Kingdom also, when the King went to *Scotland*; yet we may remember, it was confessed by some of the Principal Rebels, that their Popish Committee here with the King, had communicated that Design to many Papists in *England*, by whose Advice, though some Things were altered, yet it was generally concluded, that about the same time, there should be the like Proceeding of the Papists here; insomuch that when *Charlemont* was seized in *Ireland*, Sir *Phelim Oneale* and other great Rebels, did, with much Confidence, affirm, the *Tower* was also seized at *London*, and the Archbishop released by their Party here, where they said, there was as much Blood running as in *Ireland*.

AND it is very well known, that upon the King's return from *Scotland*, besides the unusual Preparations of Ammunition and Arms, with new Guards within and about *Whitehall*; and besides the great quantity of Fire-works found and taken in Papists Houses; the *Tower* was also filled with new Guards, many Cannoneers, Granadoes, and all sorts of Fire-works, Mortars, with great Pieces of Battery, ready prepared and mounted against the City. Sir *William Balfour*, (who was formerly threatned) for refusing the new Guards while the Earl of *Strafford* lived, was now displaced, and such Officers placed by the King, as were not only suspected

suspected by us, but by the whole City, (who durst not abide in their own Houses) as by their several Petitions is manifest.

FROM this time the Track of open Force against this Parliament and Kingdom, did appear more visible.

THE Charge of Treason against some of both Houses, and that unparallell'd Act of Violence by the King's coming so attended to the House of Commons, (after he had discharged our Guards, denying us any, but what might restrain or over-awe us) was but the Prologue to a bloody Tragedy, had not the Parliament, and good Affections of the City interrupted that Design, and caused the King's new Guards, (already list'd and moulded under Colonels and other Officers) to withdraw a little to another Scene.

NEITHER would the Country more comply with these Designs, altho' they were attempted with unusual Arguments of armed Troops in warlike manner to compel them; which succeeded yet so ill, that the Lord Digby durst not abide the Trial, but was sent away upon a special Errand by the King's own Warrant.

WHAT his Errand was beyond Sea, we may well conclude from the List of Arms and Ammunition (for which we can produce the King's own Hand) taken amongst his Papers, and printed with his Letters to the Queen, at her first landing in *Holland*.

WHAT

W A A T Advice he gave for the King's retiring to some safe Place, and declare himself; and how the King followed it, is known well enough.

B U T before the King's settling at *York*, the Notice we had of his Commissions to the Earl of *Newcastle*, and Collonel *Legg*, for attempting *Newcastle* and *Hull*, may justly occasion us to provide for their Security, especially when we had certain Intelligence from the Low-Countries of Foreign Forces from *Denmark*, to come in about *Hull*, whither also came with the Lord *Digby*, divers Commanders, with much Ammunition and Arms from other Foreign Parts.

A N D had not the *Swedes*, at that time, invaded part of the Kingdom of *Denmark's* Dominions, we had had reason enough to expect a Storm that way, to have fallen also on *Hull*, where was then a great Magazine; and before we ever asked the King to remove it, we represented to him, that besides all other Intelligence of Foreign Negotiations, we had good notice of a Fleet preparing in *Denmark*, and that one of the Lord *Digby's* Servants had solicited a Mariner (or Pilot) to conduct it into *Hull*.

A N D before that time, the King had dispatched an Agent into *Denmark*, with Letters of Credit, complaining against the Parliament as unjustly fixed on the Destruction of one Man, the Earl of *Strafford* then living, but he was resolved

resolved to take another Course, and therefore desired Aid.

AND there came such an Answer, that among the large Offers made to the *Scots* before the King's going into *Scotland*, They were told, the King was assured of Horses and Money from *Denmark*. And, by an intercepted Letter from the *Hague* to Secretary *Nicholas*, long since published, we found, that (besides many Arms and Cannon then provided in *Holland*) There were also coming from *Denmark* Ships with ten Thousand Arms for Foot, and fifteen Hundred Horse for the King's Use, and that *Cockran* very handsomly evaded, that which was like to have frustrated all their Expectations from thence.

AND in *Cockran's* latter Instructions (for there had been others before into *Denmark*) long since printed: The King saith we were then beginning to make head against him, and were then levying Forces, and therefore he preffeth for Men, Money, Arms and Ships from *Denmark*, for which also he useth many Arguments, and among others, one in these Words:

THAT in pursuance of their great Design of extirpating the Royal Blood and Monarchy of England, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great Blemish upon his Royal Family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his Sister, at once to cut off the Interest and Pretensions of the whole

whole Race; which their most detestable and scandalous Design they have pursued, examining Witnesses, and conferring Circumstances and Times to colour their Pretensions in so great a Fault; and which, as his sacred Majesty of England, in the true sense of Honour of his Mother, doth abhor, and will punish; so he expects his Concurrence in vindicating a Sister of so happy Memory, and by whom so near an Union and continued League of Amity hath been produced between the Families and Kingdoms.

A MOST false scandalous Charge of that which never entred into our Thoughts, so that we believe there never was a more unworthy Act done by any Prince, so to betray his Trust and People to a foreign Nation, by incensing them with such an odious Slander, to the Shame of his own Mother.

WHICH we repeat the rather, because when we declared our Intelligence, that Cockran was sent into Denmark to procure Forces thence. The King disavowed it, calling it a vile Scandal, in his Answer to our Declaration of the 22d of October 1642.

IN the same Instructions to Cockran, he declareth also, that he then expected Assistance from all his neighbouring Princes and Allies, in particular, the greatest part of the States Fleet from Holland, whither he confessed he had then sent the Queen.

H E might also have added, that with the Queen, contrary to his Trust, he had sent the antient Jewels of the Crown of *England* (of a very vast value) to be pawned or sold for Ammunition and Arms, of which we had certain Knowledge before we took up Arms.

NEITHER had we so much as once asked the settling of the Militia till the Queen was going into *Holland*.

AND it may be remembred, that many Months before her Voyage to *Holland*, she was going beyond Sea, had not our Motions to the King stayed her (and that among other Reasons given) because we then also heard, she had pack'd up the Crown-Jewels and Plate, by which we might see what was then also intended by that Journey, had we not prevented it till the Winter.

BUT at *Burrough-Bridge* (before the Earl of *Strafford's* Death) the Officers were told the King would pawn his Jewels for them, and the *French* were promised to assist them.

ALL this and much more yet to be said, maketh us stand amazed at the King's solemn Protestations, so often made, calling God to witness and revenge it also, if he had any Thought of bringing up the *Northern* Army, or of levying Forces to wage War with his Parliament, or to invade the Rights of his Subjects, or of bringing in foreign Forces, or Aids from beyond Sea, *which* (as himself saith in his Declarations) *would not only bury this Kingdom*

Kingdom in sudden Destruction and Ruin, but his own Name and Posterity in perpetual Scorn and Infamy.

YET, at the very first, when himself and the Lords made such a Protestation at *York* against Levying Forces, he commanded his Subjects by Proclamation, to resist the Orders of Parliament: And had signed that most illegal Commission of Array, and did privately contrive the getting out of the Stores, Ships, or otherwise such Ordnance, Powder, Shot and Ammunition, as could be possibly got and provided, for which we can produce a Letter of *June 20. 1642*, under his own Hand, to Sir *John Heydon* Lieutenant of the Ordnance, to convey it secretly in Ballast of Ships, and required Subscriptions for Plate, Horses and Arms, and had also raised such Guards of Horse and Foot about him, that by them he did not only abuse our Committees sent unto him, beat our publick Officers and Messengers, protect notorious Papists, Traytors or Felons, such as *Beckwith* and others from the *Posse Comitatus*, but also with those Guards, Cannons and Arms from beyond Sea, did attempt to force *Hull* in an hostile manner, and that within few Days after that solemn Protestation at *York*.

IT was not long before he proclaim'd us Rebels and Traytors, setting up his Standard against the Parliament, which never any King of *England* did before himself.

NOR did ever any but King *Charles* set up a Mock-Parliament at *Oxford*, or any other Place, to oppose and protest against the Parliament of *England*, which himself and both Houses had continued by Act of Parliament.

AND when he had made those pretended Members at *Oxford*, to falsify their Faith and Trust they owed to this Kingdom, finding that by them he could not carry on his own pernicious Designs, he derided their meeting in a Letter to the Queen, and called them a *Mungrel Parliament*, whereby his own Party may perceive what Reward they must expect when they have done their utmost, to shipwreck their Faith and Conscience to his Will and Tyranny. And for calling in of foreign Forces, besides that which we have said already, it is very well known, by his own Letters taken at *Naseby*, and the Lord *Digby's* Cabinet, what Negotiations he hath long had in all States round about; we have also remaining with us, an authentick Copy of his Commission, for calling over ten Thousand of the *Irish* Rebels to subdue this Parliament, the disloyal and rebellious City of *London* (as he calleth it) and for this purpose (expressly against an Act of Parliament) he made a Pacification first, and since a Peace with those most cruel bloody Rebels, on such odious, shameful, and unworthy Conditions, that himself blushed to own, or impart them to his own Lieutenant the Earl of *Ormond*, but a private Commission was made to the

the Lord *Herbert*, (called Earl of *Glamorgan*) commanding him to manage it with all possible Secrefy.

AND for letting us fee this feeret Commission (which was taken at *Sligo*) the faid Lord did endure a specious Confinement.

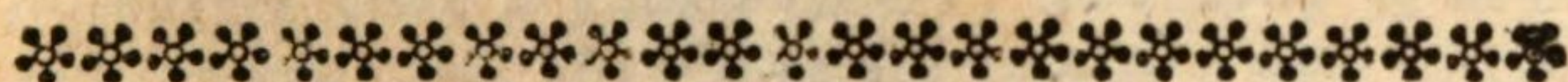
NEITHER do we by this time, wonder he should forget his Vows and Proteftations, that he would never consent (upon whatfoever Pretence) to a Toleration of the Popish Profeflion, or Abolition of the Laws then in Force againft Recufants, with moft folemn Imprecations, that God would fo deal with him and his, as he continued in fuch Professions, and inviolably kept thofe Proteftations, notwithstanding, about the very fame time, it appears by Letters under his own Hand to the Queen and the Earl of *Ormond*, that he would consent to the taking away all Penal Laws againft Papifts both in *England* and *Ireland*.

AND altho' we had fufficient Notice and Proofs of moft of thefe Things before, notwithstanding all his breach of Truft with the Proteftants in *France*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and this Kingdom, which (befides all other Oppreffions by unjuft Prerogative) he hath fo often endeavour'd to enslave by *German*, *Spanifh*, *French*, *Lorrain*, *Irifh*, *Danifh*, and other foreign Forces; yet fo really, we fought his own, as well as the Kingdom's Peace and Happinefs, that after fo many Denyals, we made this laft Application fo juft and Honourable, that we cannot

not but now conclude, he hath wholly forgotten, not only his Duty to the Kingdom, but also the Care and Respect he owes to himself and his own Family.

THESE are some few of the many Reasons why we cannot repose any more Trust in him, and have made those former Resolutions, yet we shall use our utmost Endeavours to settle the present Government, as may best stand with the Peace and Happiness of this Kingdom.

LONDON: Printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Honourable House of Commons, February 15. 1647. According to the following Order.



Die Veneris, xi. Februarii, 1647,

ORDERED by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That a competent Number of this Declaration be printed for the Service of the House; and the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, and Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*, that ſerve for the ſeveral Counties, Cities, Burroughs and Ports, are required to ſend Copies thereof, to be publiſhed and diſperſed in the ſeveral and reſpective Places for which they ſerve.

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and but now concludes, he hath wholly forgot
and not only this duty to the Kingdom, but
also the Care and Respect he owes to himself
and his own family.

THESE are some few of the many Reasons
why we cannot repeat any more than in this
and have made these former Resolutions, yet we
think the our utmost Endeavour to settle the pre-
sented Government, as was well said, with the
Peace and Happiness of this Kingdom.

LONDON: Printed for Edward Smith, Print-
er to the Honourable House of Commons,
February 27. 1647. According to the follow-
ing Order.

Die Novembris. XI. Februarii. 1647.

ORDERED by the Commons assembled
in Parliament, That a competent Num-
ber of this Declaration be printed for the Ser-
vice of the House, and the Knights, Citizens
and Burgesses, and Barons of the Cinque Ports,
that live for the several Counties, Cities, Bur-
roughs and Ports, are required to send Copies
thereto, to be published and dispersed in the
several and respective Places for which they

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A F U L L
A N S W E R

To the Fore-going
Infamous and Trayterous PAMPHLET.

Written by Sir EDWARD HIDE, Kt.

Micah vii. 4.

The best of them is as a Bryar : The most upright is sharper than a Thorn-Hedge : The Day of thy Watchmen, and thy Visitation cometh ; now shall be their Perplexity.

Ezekiel xxiii. 5. 9.

And Aholah played the Harlot when she was mine, and she doted on her Lovers, on the Assyrians her Neighbours.

Wherefore I have delivered her into the Hands of her Lovers ; into the Hands of the Assyrians, upon whom she doted.

IF the Nature and Minds of Men *Preface of
the Au-
thor.*
were not more inclined to Error and
Vice, than they are to Truth and
Vertue, and their Memories more re-
tentive of the Arguments and Evidence, which
is administred to pervert, than of those applied
D 2 to

to reclaim them, there would be little need of composing any Answer to this seditious and traitorous Declaration, which consists only of the several infamous and scandalous Imputations and Reproaches (except the odious and groundless Discourse of the death of King *James*, which, tho' they have always whisper'd, they never thought fit to own till now) which have been thrown and scattered against the King, throughout their Declarations and Remonstrances, and is but the same Calumny and Treason, bound up in a lesser Volume; to every Particular whereof his Majesty (whilst he was at Liberty to speak for himself, and to take the Pains to undeceive and inform his People) gave full and clear Answers, in his several Declarations and Expresses, so that from thence, all Men may gather the most natural and proper Antidotes, to expel this Poyson, the Spirit and Malignity whereof, (it is hoped) is so near spent, by the staleness and palpable Unskilfulness, as well as Malice, of the Composition, that it will neither be received by, or work upon any healthful Constitutions; yet it will not be amiss, for the Information of those, who, it may be, have not taken the Pains to read the KING's former Answers and Declarations; and refreshing the Memory of others, who have forgotten what they have read, to collect the Answers formerly given to those Particulars, with which his Majesty is now charged, and to add to those Answers, what the Knowledge and Observation of
most

most Men who have been faithful Inquirers into past Actions, with that Integrity and Duty that becomes Subjects, may supply them with; for which, there will need no great Apology, since every honest Man hath a more regular and legal Qualification, to vindicate his Majesty from those foul Aspersions, than any Combination, or Congregation of Men, can have to traduce him with them.

BEFORE any Discourse be applied to the monstrous Conclusions, which are made, and for the Support and Maintenance whereof, that Declaration is framed and contrived, or to the unreasonable Glosses upon his Majesty's Propositions, and Prosecution of his Desires of Peace and Treaty, it will be the best Method, to weigh and consider those Particulars, upon which they would be thought to found their desperate Conclusions, and in which they say, *There is a continued Track of breach of Trust in the three Kingdoms, since his Majesty wore the Crown.*

I. THE first Charge is, That his Majesty *The First* in publick Speeches and Declarations, hath laid *Charge a-* a fit Foundation for all Tyranny, by this most *gainst the* destructive Maxim or Principle, which he saith, *King an-* he must avow, *swer'd.* *That he oweth an account of his Actions to none, but God alone; and that the Houses of Parliament, joynt or separate, have no Power, either to make or declare any Law.*

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THAT

De Jur.
Bell. fol.
64.

T H A T which all learned Christians in all Ages have taught, and all learned Lawyers of this Kingdom have always held, and acknowledged, is not like to be a *destructive Principle*, and a *fit Foundation for Tyranny*; and surely this Assertion of his Majesty hath no less Authority: For the first, the incomparable *Grotius*, upon whom all learned Men look with singular Reverence, says, That even *Samuel jus Regum describens, satis ostendit adversus Regis injurias nullam in populo relictam potestatem*; which, says he, *rectè colligunt veteres ex illo Psalmi; Tibi soli peccavi*: Because being all, *ejusdem ordinis*, the People owe the same Obedience to these, as they did to those, though the absolute Power and Jurisdiction the Kings of *Israel* had, be no Rule for other Princes to claim by: And *Grotius* there cites Saint *Ambrose's* Note upon the same Text, *Neque ullis ad pœnam vocantur legibus, tuti imperii potestate, homini ergo non peccavit, cui non tenebatur obnoxius*.

Postnat.
p. 107.

T H E wise and learned Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, in his Argument of the *Postnati*, mentions some Texts in the Civil Law, of the great and absolute Power of Princes, as *Rex est Lex loquens*, and *Rex solus judicat de causa à jure non definita*, and says, he must not wrong the Judges of the Common Law of the Kingdom, so much as to suffer an Imputation to be cast upon them, that they or the Common Law do not attribute, as great Power and Authority to their Sovereigns, the Kings of England, as the Canon Laws did to their

their Emperours; and then cites out of *Bracton*, (the Chief Justice in the Time of King *Hen. III.* and an authentick Author in the Law) these Words, *De Chartis Regiis & factis Regum non debent nec possunt Justitiiarii, nec privatae personae disputare, nec etiam si in illa dubitatio oriatur, possunt eam interpretari, & in dubiis & obscuris, vel si aliqua dictio duos contineat intellectus, Domini Regis erit expectanda interpretatio & voluntas*: And the same *Bracton*, in another Place, says of the King, *Omnis sub eo est, & ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo*.

THE ground of that excellent Law of *Pre-* 16 Rich.
munire, in the 16th Year of King *Rich. II. c. 5.* 2. c. 5.
and the very Words of that Statute are, *That the Crown of England hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly Subjection, but immediately subject to God in all Things, touching the Regality of the same Crown, and to none other*; and upon that *Maxim* of the Law, that good Statute against the Pope, was founded.

IF the King were bound to give an Account of his Actions to any Person or Power whatsoever (God excepted) he could not be *the* 1 Eliz.
only supream Governour of this Realm, which he c. 1.
is declared and acknowledged to be by the Oath of Supremacy, which every Member of the House of Commons hath taken; or if he hath not, he ought not to sit there, or to be reputed a Member of Parliament by the Statute of 5 Eliz. c. 1.

FOR the other Part of this most destructive *Maxim* or *Principle*, That the Houses of Parliament, joynt or separate, have no Power either to make or declare any thing to be Law, which hath not been formerly made to be so : It hath been the Judgment and Language of the Law itself in all Ages, and the Language of all Parliaments themselves.

IT was the Judgment of the Parliament in the 2d Year of King *Hen. V.* (remembred and mentioned by the King, in his Answer to the 19 Propofitions) *That it is of the King's regality to grant or deny such of their Petitions as pleaseth himself*, which was the Form then usual to present those Desires, which, by the King's Approbation and Consent were enacted into Laws.

Dyer, fol.
60. pl. 19.

IT was the Language of the Law in the 36th Year of King *Henry VI.* reported by my Lord *Dyer*, *That the King is the Head, and that the Lords are chief and principal Members, and the Commons, to wit, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses, the Inferiour Members, and that they all make the Body of Parliament* : And doubtless, the Privilege of Parliament was not in that Time held so sacred a Thing, when an Action of Debt was brought against the Sheriff of *Cornwall*, for having discharged one *Trewynnard*, a Burges of Parliament, taken in Execution during the Session of Parliament, upon a Writ of Privilege directed to the said Sheriff, and the King's Bench (where the Action was brought,

brought, and the Sheriff justify'd) was, in those Days, the proper Place to judge what was the Privilege of Parliament, the Law being the most proper Judge of that Privilege, as well as of all other Rights.

IT is the Language of the Author of *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*, who lived before the Time of *William the Conqueror*; and it is the Language of Sir *Edw. Coke*, in the Chapter of the high Court of Parliament, which was published by a special Order of the House of Commons, since the beginning of this Parliament, That *there is no Act of Parliament but must have the Consent of the Lords, the Commons, and the Royal Assent of the King*: And the same Sir *Edward Coke* says, in the 11. p. of that Chapter, *That Innovations and Novelties in Parliamentary Proceedings are most dangerous, and to be refused.*

IT is the Language of the Parliament in the 1st Year of King *James*, when, to the first Act that was past, they desired his Majesty's Royal Assent, *without which (they say,) it can neither be compleat or perfect, nor remain to all Posterity, &c.*

Lastly, IT is the Language of this present Parliament, and in a time in which they were not very modest in their Pretences, for in their Declaration of the 19th of May, they acknowledge, *That by the Constitution of this Kingdom, the Power is in his Majesty and Parliament together, albeit they conclude in the same Declaration,*

4 Part. In-
stit. p. 25.

1 Jac. c. 1.

Exact
Collect.
P. 207.

ration, *That if he refused to joyn with them, they will do their Work themselves without him.*

THERE is no one Proposition that hath more misled Men, than the Discourse of the Parliaments being the supream Court of Judicature, and therefore that they have the sole Power to declare Law; It is confessed, that the House of Peers in Parliament (for any Pretence of the House of Commons to Judicature is groundless, and unreasonable, and unheard of, till within these last seven Years) is the supream Court of Judicature, whither any Person that conceives himself oppressed by the Judgment of any other Court, may, by Writ of Error, remove that Judgment, of which he complains, and from the Sentence of that Court there is no Appeal; which his Majesty well expressed in his Answer to that Declaration of the 19th of May, in these Words, *We deny not, but they may have a Power to declare in a particular doubtful Case, regularly brought before them, what Law is, but to make a general Declaration, whereby the known Rule of the Law may be crossed or altered, they have no Power, nor can exercise any without bringing the Life and Liberty of the Subject to a lawless and arbitrary Subjection:* Which Assertion the too sad Experience of all Men, hath evinced to be most reasonable. The Truth is, that Power of declaring in a particular Case, so brought before them, is rather a Power to declare what shall be done in that Case, than what the Law is; for if they re-
verse

Exact
Collect.
P. 251.

verse a Judgment brought before them, and determine the right otherwise, than it hath been judged by the sworn Judges, that Judgment is no Rule to the sworn Judges to judge by, but they may in the like Case without imputation of Crime or Error, judge as they did formerly; which shews that the Judges are the only Interpreters of the Law, in their several Courts, though in these Cases, removed regularly before the Lords, the Party must *acquiesce*, there being no other Court to appeal to.

ADD to this, that there hath been in all Times, that Reverence to the sworn Judges of the Law, that the Lords in Parliament have always guided themselves by their Opinion in Matters of Law; neither will it be ever found before this Parliament, that the House of Peers ever declared or judged the Law in any particular Case, against the unanimous Opinion of the Judges, who are Assistants only for that Purpose; neither is it Reason that any should be thought fit Interpreters or Declarers of the Law, but they who have studied it, and are sworn to do it truly. And to this Point, though there are Multitude of Examples and Presidents, there shall be one only remembered: In the Parliament in the 28th Year of *Hen. VI.* upon the 16th of *January*, the Commons desired, That *William de la Pool*, Duke of *Sussex*, should be committed to Prison for many Treasons and other hainous Crimes committed by him: The Lords in Parliament were in doubt

doubt, what Answer to give, they demanded the Opinion of the Judges, their Opinion was, that he ought not to be committed; and the Reason was, for that the Commons did not charge him with any particular Offence, but with general Slanders and Reproaches; and therefore because the Specialties were not shewed, he was not to be committed: This Opinion was allowed, and the *Duke* was not Committed, till a Fortnight after, that the Commons had exhibited special Articles against him, that he conspired with the *French King*, to invade the Realm, &c. And then he was sent to the *Tower*: So great Respect did those Times bear to the Judges of the Law, and so much Courage had the Judges then to declare what the Law was.

HAVING now made it manifest, that this most destructive *Maxim* or *Principle*, is no *new Position*, but agreeable to *Antiquity*, *Conscience*, *Truth* and *Law*, and therefore not like to be a *fit Foundation* for all *Tyranny*: It will not be unseasonable, to observe that these Words were spoken by his Majesty at the first Session of Parliament, in the 3d Year of his Reign, and that though the Matter of them hath been often since, and must be always averred by him; the very Words have not been used in Speech or Declaration by his Majesty, since the beginning of this Parliament, and that that very Parliament continued many Months after, and never in the least Degree made Question of them,

them, nor hath any Objection been made to them, till this new Declaration of the Commons, near 18 Years after, and therefore it is not probable, that they have been before misinterpreted or censured.

IT may be likewise in this Place fit to inform the People, what these Men mean by *the Power of declaring Law*, which they are so ambitious of; that they may know how little else they would need to destroy King and People, if they were possessed of this Power, in the sense they intend; which will best appear by the Instances in which they have assumed it.

THE King proclaims Sir *John Hotbam* guilty of high Treason, for having shut the Gates of *Hull*, and having made *resistance with armed Men in defiance of his Majesty*, which, he says, is high Treason by the *Statute of the 25th Year of Edw. III. c. 2.* They declare that Sir *John Hotbam* did not shut the Gates against him in defiance, *but in Obedience to his Majesty*, and that the meaning of that Statute, is only against those, who levy'd War against *the King's Laws and Authority*; that the King's *Authority is only in them; and they only can judge of the Laws*; and therefore that they who shall levy War by their Authority, (tho' against the personal *Commands of the King, and accompanied with his presence*) incur no Danger by that Statute: And that they who did *attend his Person against them*, are guilty of Treason within that Statute.

Exact
Collect.
p. 276,
277.

THE King for the Information of his Subjects, remembers them of the Statute made in the 11th Year of King *Hen. VII. cap. 1.* by which it is enacted, *That no manner of Person, whosoever he be, that attends upon the King and Sovereign Lord of this Land, for the Time being in his Person, and do him true and faithful Service of Allegiance in the same, or be in other Places by his Commandment in his Wars, shall be convicted or attaint of high Treason, nor lose Lands, Goods, &c.* They declare that by the King, in this Statute, is meant *the Parliament*. If they are told the King is *Supreme Head and Governour over all Persons, within his Dominions*, and that he is so acknowledged to be by the Oaths themselves have taken: They presently declare, that it is meant of *singular Persons rather than of Courts, or of the collective Body of the whole Kingdom*: Examples innumerable of this kind might be remembred, and the Consequence needs not be pressed.

Exact
Collect.
p. 280.

Exact
Collect.
p. 703.

THAT the Absurdity may a little appear, as well as the Mischief, they apply this Faculty of declaring to the satisfying their Curiosity, and supporting their Credit, to matter of Right, and matter of Fact, or to any Purpose that may advance their Designs: They intercept a Letter directed to the *Queen's Majesty* from the Lord *Digby* before the War began, and declare it would *be dishonourable to his Majesty, and dangerous for the Kingdom, if it should not be opened*; and thereupon with unheard of Presumption,

Ex. Col.
p. 82.

Presumption, they open and peruse the Letter, her Majesty being within a Day's Journey of them: And when the King caused Sir *John Hotham's* Letters to be opened, which were intercepted after he was in Rebellion, They declare, that it was *a high breach of Privilege*, which by the *Laws of the Kingdom*, and by the *Protestation* we are bound to defend with our Lives and Fortune. Ex. Col. p. 156.

ONE Master *Booth*, a Gentleman of Quality of *Lincolnshire*, delivered a Petition to the King at *York*, in which he complained of certain Gentlemen, who, as Deputy-Lieutenants, had put the Ordinance for the *Militia* in execution in that County; and set forth in his Petition, several Actions done, and Words spoken by them at that time, and both himself and one Master *Scroop* made *Affidavit* before a Master of the Chancery, that the Information in the Petition was punctually and precisely true; which Petition and Oath being printed, the House of Commons frankly declared, That it was false: Not to speak of their declaring, that the King's coming to the House of Commons, was a trayterous Design against the King and Parliament; and that his Proclamation which he published for the apprehension of those Members, was false: So that this sole Power of declaring, would not stand in need of any other Power to subvert the whole frame of Government, and so dispose of the intire Rights of Prince and People, according to the variety of their Ex. Col. p. 481. Ex. Col. p. 40.

Ex. Col.
p. 265.

their Appetites and Humour: For they say, as *some Presidents of their Predecessors ought not to be Rules for them to follow, so none can be Limits to bound their Proceedings.*

AND, in truth, the inconstancy and contradiction in their Rules and Resolutions is no less observable than the other Extravagancy: In their Petition of the 14th of Decemb. 1641, they declared, *That the King ought not to manifest or declare his Consent, or Dissent, Approbation or dislike of any Bill in preparation or debate, before it be presented to him in due course of Parliament;* yet within few Days after, in the Petition that accompanied the Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, they desired his Majesty that he would *concur with them, for the depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament,* the Bill for that Purpose being still depending in the Lords House, and then not like to pass.

Ex. Col.
p. 727.

By the Order of the 3d of January 1641, and many Declarations after, they declared, *That if any Person whatsoever, shall offer to arrest or detain the Person of any Member without first acquainting the House, that it is lawful for him to stand upon his Defence and make resistance, and for any other Person to assist him in so doing;* but in their Declaration of the 2d of November following, *they deny that they had said so, and acknowledged, that a Member in the Cases of Treason, Felony, or the Peace, may be arrested*
and

and detained, in ordine, to his appearance before the Parliament.

T H E R E would be no End of these Instances, not to speak of those, where the House of Peers have declared the Law one Way, and the Commons another, as in the Order of the 9th of September.

II. T H E next Charge is, the private *Ar-* *The Second*
ticles agreed in order to the Match with Spain, and Charge.
those other private Articles upon the French Marri-
age, so prejudicial to the Peace, Safety, Laws, &c..

W H A T those private Articles were, or are, is not expressed, which doubtless would have been, if a reasonable Advantage might have been hoped from it; all those Papers being seized and perused by those, who have neither respect to the Dignity of their Sovereign, or regard of the Honour of their Country. The Articles with both Kingdoms, were transacted by the great Wisdom of King *James*, and cannot be imputed to his Majesty that now is; neither is there in one, or the other, any one Article that was not in the King's Power to agree to, in the Manner in which he did agree; and that neither of them were prejudicial to the Peace, Safety, Laws, and Religion here Established, is most evident, for that Peace and Safety were never more visible, nor the Laws and Religion established did ever flourish more in any Age, than from the Time of those Articles to the beginning of this unhappy Par-

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liament, which no Discourse of Correspondence with *Rome*, can hinder from being acknowledged.

The Third Charge.

III. THE third Matter objected is, a Discourse concerning *the Death of King JAMES*, in which there is mention of a Clause in the Impeachment carried up against the *Duke of Buckingham* by the House of Commons, in the 2d Year of this King; and that the King came into the Lords House and took notice of that Charge, and said, He could be a Witness to clear him in every one of them; and that shortly after the *Parliament* was dissolved, and they conclude, that *they leave it to the World to judge where the Guilt remains.*

DURING the Life of King *James*, and to the Hour of his Death, there was no earthly Thing he took equal Joy and Comfort in, as in the Obedience and Piety of his Son; who was not more reputed and known to be Heir apparent to the Crown, than to be the most dutiful and pious Son in the Kingdom, and was never known to displease his Father in his Life; the King died in the 59th Year of his age, after many terrible Fits of an *Ague*, which turned to a *quotidian Fever*, a Disease usually mortal to Persons of that Age and Corpulency of Body, which King *James* was of.

AFTER his Death, in the 1st Year of his Majesty's Reign, there was a Parliament called, during which Time, there was never the least
Whisper

Whisper or Imagination of the King's Death, to be otherwise than natural, and yet the King had many great Persons in his Counsel, and there were more afterwards in that Parliament, who did not pretend any Kindness to the Duke of *Buckingham*; many of whom must necessarily have observed, or, at least, have been informed of any Arguments for such a notorious and odious Practice, and would not have suffer'd any Jealousy that could reflect on the Duke, to be untaken notice of.

By that Time the Parliament, in the second Year of the King began, one *George Eglisham*, an infamous *Scotch*-man, and a Papist, having an Ambition to be taken notice of as an Enemy to the Duke, transported himself into *Flanders*, and from thence about the beginning of that Parliament, sent over a small Pamphlet in the form of a Petition, in his own Name to the Parliament, accusing the Duke of *Buckingham* of having poyson'd the *Marquiss of Hamilton*, and King JAMES; which Pamphlet was industriously scattered up and down in the Streets of the City of *London*; and the House of Commons being at the same Time incensed against the Duke, in their Impeachment or Remonstrance against him, thought fit to insert the giving of that Drink, and applying that Plaister (which was all that was mentioned in that Pamphlet concerning King JAMES) as a transcendent Presumption in the Duke, as is set forth in this Declaration.

IF they had been ingenuous, they would likewise have set forth the *Duke's Answer* to that Clause, and then the People would have understood that there was nothing *administred to the King, without the privity of the Physitians, and his own importunate Desire and Command*; the Applications being such, as unlearned People upon Observation and Experience in those known and common Diseases, believe to do much good, and the learned acknowledge, can do no hurt: And the Parliament continued above a Week after that Answer was put in, and no one Person appeared, in that Time, to offer the least Evidence concerning that Clause; and the King might very well, in Justice to the Honour of a faithful Servant, discharge his own Knowledge, to free him from so horrible an Imputation: And after the dissolution of that Parliament, all imaginable Care was taken to examin the Grounds, and to discover the Authors of that Suggestion: And it is known the miserable Wretch, who raised the Scandal, with great Penitence, afterwards, acknowledged his Villany, and died with the horreur of his Guilt.

IN the Year following, there was another Parliament summoned, which continued and sate many Months together before the *Duke's Death*, and which was not more devoted to him than the former had been; where those two Gentlemen, mentioned in the Declaration, bore great sway, and were nothing reconciled to

to the Duke or the Court; yet in all their Remonstrances, not the least Word of that Aspersion, all Men believing and knowing it to be the most groundless, that could be imagined.

AFTER the beginning of this Parliament, when the Licence of Talking and Preaching seditionously was introduced, it was whisper'd amongst some of the chief Agents for the Confusion which hath since followed, that they would examin the Matter of the Death of *King JAMES*, and shortly after the Business of the *five Members*, when the King was at *Windsor*, and the two Houses governed so absolutely: This Pamphlet written so long since by *Eglisbam* was printed, and publickly sold in Shops, and about the Streets, and a very powerful Person of that Faction, with some seeming trouble in his Countenance, told one of the Secretaries of State, that many took the Liberty abroad to discourse too boldly of the Death of *King James*, and that he would send one to him, a Clergy-Man, who could give him a particular Information of it; the same Night the Man came to him, who told him that there was a Papist, who lived about *London*, or in the nearest part of *Surry*, who reported, that *he could prove, that King James was poysoned*; the Secretary required the Informer to attend him at an Hour the next Day; and early in the Morning, assembled the Privy Council, acquainted them with the Information, and the Informer; and desired their Lordships Advice and Opinions what

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should

should be done upon it; the most of them were
 very shy in the Matter, and he who had first
 spoken of it, and sent the Informer, seemed
 wonderfully troubled that it was Communica-
 ted so publickly; by which it was evident he
 had in the Intimation some Design, either up-
 on that Honourable Person or his Master, of
 which he hoped to have made another Use:
 The Secretary, immediately after he had receiv-
 ed the Intelligence, sent an Express to his Ma-
 jesty with the Account, and that he intended
 forthwith to impart it to the Council, since it
 was no hard Matter to guess what was meant
 by those, who were privy to it, and therefore
 desired his farther Pleasure upon it; and find-
 ing the swaying Part of the Council at that
 Time unwilling to meddle in it, he expected the
 King's Command, and in the mean Time only
 sent a Warrant to apprehend that Papist, which
 could not be done without the Diligence and
 Advice of the Informer, who only knew where
 he was, and whom he required to assist. The
 same, or the next Day the King returned his
 positive and express Command, *That the Lords
 of his Council should use all possible Industry and
 Diligence in the Examination, and leave no Way
 unattempted for the full Discovery*; which Com-
 mand was immediately delivered by the Secre-
 tary to their Lordships, who thereupon gave
 some Directions, but those Lords who desired
 to conceal them, knowing only who the Au-
 thors were, tho' a formal Order was given for
 the

the Enquiry, no further Discovery was made, or any avowed Discourse of it till this Declaration; it being then said privately amongst themselves, *That the Time was not yet come, that they might make use of that matter.*

THIS is too much to be said, upon the Occasion of this most impossible Calumny and Scandal, which hath never, nor can make Impression upon any sober, honest Understanding, except to beget a Horror against the Contrivers of it: And all true *English* Hearts will so far resent it, as to express a detestation of the Authors, who being drunk with the Blood they have spilt, and confounded with the Sense of their own Wickedness, have by this last impotent Act, declared, that they are at the bottom of their Malice; and that by the just Judgment of God, their Wits are as near an End as their Allegiance; and that they have no other Stock left, but of Despair and Madness, to carry them through their impious Undertakings.

IV. THE next Reproach is the Business of *The Fourth Charge.* Rochel, and that his Majesty let divers of the *Navy Royal, and other Merchant Ships to be employed against those, whom he was engaged to have assisted*; and the King's Letter to Captain Penington, which, they say, they can shew under his own Hand, and *that hereby Rochel was betrayed.*

THOUGH the Age, Quality, and Education of most of those who consented to this Declaration, will not admit a Supposition, that they knew much of the Transaction of this Matter, yet there are some amongst them, who might well have remembred, that there was only one Ship of the Navy Royal (the *Vanguard*) lent by his Majesty to the *French King*, and that the same was returned long before *Rochel* was besieged, and near, if not full two Years before it was surrendered; and therefore it would not be very easy to prove, that it was lost (much less betrayed) by that Action, or that the Ships were employ'd against those, whom his Majesty was engaged to have assisted: But because much unskilful Discourse hath been of this Argument to the prejudice of the King, and many well-meaning People have been too credulous in it, without considering that Actions of that Nature between great Princes, are grounded upon deep Reasons of State, above the Apprehension of vulgar Understandings; and that the King, upon this new Alliance, having, at the same time, a War with *Spain*, had great Reason to gratify *France* in all Offices of Friendship: It may be worth the Labour briefly to set down the Truth of that Matter, and the Proceedings thereupon.

ABOUT the Time of his Majesty's Marriage with the *Queen*, the *French King* had many Designs upon *Italy*, and a particular Difference and Contest with the *States of Genoa*,
and

and upon conclusion of that Treaty, and renewing the antient League and Amity, confirm'd and strengthen'd by this Marriage, His Majesty was content to lend the *Vanguard*, and to give License that fix or seven Merchant Ships might be hired (if the Owners were willing) to serve the *French King* in the *Mediterranean Sea*, and, upon a precise Promise, *that they should not be employ'd against those of the Religion in France*: Accordingly, the *Vanguard* (and no other Vessel of the Navy Royal) was delivered, and the Merchants Ships likewise hired by the *French Agents*, with the full Consent of the Owners, One of which, (or one by their nomination) Commanded each Ship, and carried the same into *France*, and there themselves delivered the Ships into the possession of the *French*.

AFTER these Ships were thus engaged in the *French Service*, and joyn'd to their Fleet, in which were 20 Ships of War likewise, borrowed of the *Hollanders*, commanded by *Hautthaine* the Admiral, and *Dorpe* his Vice-Admiral, who, it is very probable, nor their Masters were privy, or consenting to that Enterprize, and with which they were much superior to those of the Religion, tho' the *English Ships* had been away, they fell upon the *Rockel Fleet*, and took and destroy'd many of them: The King was no sooner inform'd of this, than he highly resented it by his Ambassador, and the *French King* excused it upon those of the Religion, who, he alledged, had, without Cause, broken the Peace:
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The Duke of *Subese* having, when all was quiet, seiz'd all the *French* Ships at *Blauet*, which very Ships made the best part of the Fleet he had now encountred and broken; and that the King of *England* ought to be sensible of the Injury, the Peace (thus broken) having been made and consented to by the *French* King, upon his Majesty's earnest Mediation and Interposition: Notwithstanding which, his Majesty justly incensed, that his Ships should be employ'd contrary to his Pleasure and the Promise made to him, immediately required the Restitution of his, and all the *English* Ships, the which was no sooner made, than to publish to the World, how much he was displeased with that Action, he entred into Hostility with *France*, the chief ground of that Quarrel being, that the *English* Ships had been employ'd against those of the Religion, contrary to the expresse Promise made that they should not be used against them, as appears as well by the *Manifesto* of the Duke of *Buckingham*, dated *July 21*, and printed since this Parliament, as by the *Records of State* of that Time. Let the World now judge with what Colour the loss of *Roche* (which, as is said before, hapned not till near or full two Years after the return of the *English* Ships) can be imputed to the King.

Life of
Lewis xiii.
p. 79.

The Fifth
Charge.

V. THE fifth Article is, the Design of the *German Horse*, *Loans*, *Privy Seals*, *Coat and Conduct Money*, *Ship Money*, and the many *Monopolies*;

nopolies; all which, are particularly mention'd in the first *Remonstrance* of the House of Commons of the 15th of *December*, 1642. as the Effects of evil Counsellors, and with a Protestation in that Petition which accompany'd it to his Majesty, that it was without the least *Intention* to lay a Blemish upon his Majesty's Royal Person, but only to represent how his Royal Authority and Trust had been abused: And finding that the vile Language and Aspersions which they cast upon the King, were generally censured and ill spoken of: The Lords and Commons afterwards in their Declaration of the 19th of May, tell the People, that if they should say, that all the ill Things done of late in his Majesty's Name, have been done by himself, they should neither follow the direction of the Law, nor the Affection of their own Hearts, which, they say, is as much as may be to clear his Majesty of all imputation of Misgovernment, and to lay the Fault upon his Ministers; and then finding Fault with those, who make his Majesty the Author of evil Counsels, they use these Words, *We his Majesty's loyal and dutiful Subjects, can use no other Stile, according to that Maxim of the Law, [The King can do no wrong:] but if any Ill be committed in Matter of State, the Council; if in Matters of Justice, the Judges must answer for it:* So that if they would guide themselves either by the good old, or their own new Laws (from which, in Truth, they swerve no less, than from the other) they have themselves answered,

Ex. Col.
p. 1.Ex. Col.
p. 198,
199.

answered, and declared against this Article ; but since that is not currant, examin the Particulars.

THE Time when this Design is supposed to have been, was, when his Majesty had a War with the two greatest Kings of Christendom, *France* and *Spain* ; and therefore if he had purposed to have drawn auxiliary Forces into his Service, it had been no Wonder, nor more than all Princes use, yet in Truth, there was never any Design to bring in *German* Horse ; only in those unquiet Times, when the Kingdom was so much threatned from abroad, amongst other Expedients, for Strength and Defence, such a Proposition was made, or rather some Discourse upon it, which the King rejected, and did never consent that it should be put in Practice ; and therefore it may seem strange, that this Design should be now objected against his Majesty, who alone refused and hindred it, and that *Balfore* and *Dalbiere*, (who were the Principal, if not the only Projectors of it) should be in such high Reputation and Esteem with the Declarers.

THE *Loans*, *Privy Seals*, and other Courses of raising Money were upon extraordinary, and emergent Occasions, and of the same Nature, that have been in all Times practised, upon Reason and *Necessity of State* : And *Monopolies* are Weeds, that have always grown in the fat Soil which long Peace and Plenty makes, and of that Kind they may find a larger Catalogue in their *Journal-Book* of the 43d Year of Queen *Elizabeth*,

beth (a Time that no sober Man complains of) than in any Time since, and which was not then, nor reasonably can be imputed to the Crown, since new Inventions have justly so great Encouragements and Privileges by the Law, that if those Ministers, through whose Hands such Grants are to pass, are not very vigilant, it is not possible, but upon specious Pretences, many Things unwarrantable, of that Nature, will have the countenance of the *King's Hand*; yet those Particulars were no sooner complained of to his Majesty, than he willingly applied the Remedies which were proposed; and before these *Troubles* began, passed such *excellent Laws* for the prevention of the like Inconveniences for the future, that a better Security cannot be provided: So that Men must think *this Rebellion* to have been raised on the behalf of, not against those Exorbitances, which without it, could never probably have been again exercised in this Kingdom.

AND here the People cannot enough observe, and wonder, that these Grievances should, in this Manner, be objected against the King, who removed and abolished them, in a Time when, and by those, who have renewed and improved the same, and introduced new Vexations upon his Subjects in an illimited Manner, and intolerable Proportion.

THAT, They should complain of a Design of bringing in *German Horse* to enslave us, which (if any such Designs were) by the Goodness of the

the King was frustrated and rejected) who have actually brought in an Army of all Nations upon us, and have no Pretence of continuing it, but that they may subdue us, dissolve the Government of the Kingdom, and make us Slaves to their own Passions and Appetite.

Ex. Col. pag. 763, 764, 765. T H A T, They should remember the King of *inforced Loans, Privy Seals, Coat and Conduct Money*, who (since the same have been abrogated by him) have by their Ordinance, compelled Men to lend *the Fifth and the Twentieth part of their Estates*, for the *maintenance of their Armies*; that *fifth and twentieth Part* to be rated according to such Proportion, as certain Persons named by them shall *assess*, and if any Person shall refuse to pay the Money so assessed upon him, then Collectors shall *levy it by Distress*, and for want of Distress he shall be committed to Prison, with such Circumstances of Severity and Uncharitableness as were never exercised by any Royal Command.

Coll. Ord. 2 vol. p. 173.

Col. Ord. 2 vol. p. 477, & 796. T H A T, They should complain of the *ingrossing of Gunpowder*, in which his Majesty did nothing but what by his legal Prerogative he might do, who by their Ordinance of the 3d of *April, 1644. for the making of Saltpeter*, and by the other of the 7th of *February 1645. for making Gun-powder*, have established all those Clauses in his Majesty's Commission, of which there was any colour of Complaint, to Projectors of their own, with so much worse Circumstances, as the Jurisdiction their Committees exercise,

ercise, (to whom Appeals are to be made) is more grievous, chargeable, and insupportable, than that was of the Council-Table.

T H A T, They should mention the *Patent of Wine*, which was to pay *forty Shillings* upon the Tun to his Majesty, when by the Ordinance of the 22d of *July*, 1643. they have laid an Imposition upon it of *six Pounds*, over and above all Customs, and by the Ordinance of the 9th of *October following*, have authorized the *Vintners* to sell it at as great, and some at greater Prices, than was ever tolerated during the Time of his Majesty's Imposition.

Lastly, (To omit the other Particulars of *Salt, Allum, Tobacco*, and the rest, upon every one of which they have, by their particular Ordinances, laid much heavier Taxes than was thought of in those Times) That they should reproach the King with the Ship-Money (which, by their own Computation came not to above 200000 *l.* by the Year) as the *compendium of all Oppression and Slavery*, for which his Majesty had a *Judgment* in a Court of Law, before all the Judges of *England*, and which was always levied by the due forms of Law, and which his Majesty, when he was informed of the injustice of it, frankly quitted, and did his best to pull it up by the Roots, that no Branch of it may hereafter grow up to the disquiet of his People, when themselves have almost ever since by that one Ordinance of the 1st of *March*, Ex. Col. 1642. imposed a weekly Tax upon the King-
dom.

Col. Ord.
2 vol.
p. 563.

dom of *three and thirty Thousand five Hundred and eighteen Pounds*, which in the Year amounts to no less than *one Million seven hundred forty two Thousand nine Hundred and odd Pounds*, to which they have since added, by their Ordinance of the 18th of October, 1644. for the Relief of the *British Army in Ireland*, a Weekly Tax upon the Kingdom, of *three Thousand eight Hundred pounds*, which, in the Year, comes to *one Hundred ninety seven Thousand six Hundred and odd pounds* (as much as ever Ship-Money arose to) over and above *Free-quarter*, and all their other Orders for *Sequestration*, and *twentieth part*, and the cruel Circumstances in the executing those and all other Ordinances, against the irregular doing whereof, they will allow no Appeal to the Judges, though of their own making, but reserve the intire Connusance and Direction to themselves.

IT is pity that *Parenthesis* of the *Spanish Fleet*, with a great Army therein, brought in- to the *Downs* 1639. (of which out of their Goodness, they say, they will say nothing) should receive no Answer; That having been often unskilfully spoken of, as it is now insinuated, as a Design against *England*, whereas they who know any Thing, know, that Fleet was bound from *Spain* to *Flanders*, with Money to pay their Army, and new levied Soldiers to recruit it, of which there was the greater number, because it was purposed to carry many old Soldiers from thence to *Catalonia*, but all those Soldiers in
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the Fleet were without Arms, and without Officers, and the Fleet so far from being provided for an Invasion, that in a little Fight with the *Hollanders* before the Wind brought them into the *Downs*, they had so near spent their Powder, that they had a Supply for their Money from *London*, which the King could not in Honour and Justice deny, the *Hollanders* themselves offering them what Powder they wanted for ready Money.

VI. N E X T follows the Torture our Bodies heretofore suffered by *Whipping, Cutting off Ears, Pillories*, and the like, with *close Imprisonment*, aggravated with the *Dominion exercised over our Souls, by Oaths, Excommunications, new Canons, &c.* by which they would have it concluded, that his Majesty's Government was full of *Cruelty and Oppression*. *The Sixth Charge.*

I T is an undeniable Evidence of the excellent Government, Sobriety and Obedience at that Time, that there were not above six infamous Persons, from the beginning of his Majesty's Reign, to the first Day of this unhappy Parliament, who were publickly taken notice of to have merited those corporal Punishments and Shame; and of the Mercy of that Time, that those suffered no greater, there being not one of them who was not guilty of Sedition to that Degree, that by the Law they were liable to heavier Judgments than they underwent: And for the Oaths, Excommunications, Ceremonies,

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and

and Canons, they were no other, and no other-
 wise exercised, than was agreeable to the Laws,
 and the Government established; of and for
 which, the Sects, Schisms and Heresies, the
 Dissoluteness, Profaneness and Impiety, which
 have followed since that blessed Order hath
 been discountenanced and suppressed, hath made
 a fuller and more sensible Vindication, than any
 Discourse can do.

AND here the People will again take no-
 tice, that these Judgments and Proceedings (which
 always passed in due form of Law, in Courts
 of Justice, and in which no innocent Man can
 pretend to have suffered) are objected against
 the King, by those, who without any colour of
 Jurisdiction, but what themselves have assumed
 and usurped, instead of inflicting any ordinary
 Punishment, take away the Lives of their fel-
 low Subjects, who have not trespassed against
 any known Law, and imprison others, with such
 unusual Circumstances of Restraint, Cruelty, and
 Inhumanity, that many Persons of Reputation,
 Integrity and Fortunes, being first robbed and
 spoiled of all their Estates, for not conforming
 themselves to the Wickedness of the Time,
 have perished in Prison, and very many of the
 same Condition, are like to do so for want of
 such Nourishment, as may satisfy Nature; and
 whosoever compares the good old Oaths form-
 ed and administered by lawful Authority, to
 every Clause whereof the Consciences of these
 very Men have seemed fully to submit, with
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the Oaths and Covenants enjoined by themselves, will have Reason to conclude Mens Souls were never in so much Danger of Captivity; and that what the worst Men underwent for their notorious Crimes in the Time of which they complain, was Recreation and Pleasure, to what all are now compelled to endure, for being honest and conscientious Men.

VII. THE long *Intermission of Parliaments* is remembred, and that at the *Dissolution of some, Privileges have been broken, and that followed* ^{*The seventh Charge.*} *with close Imprisonment and Death.*

THAT long *Intermission of Parliaments* was graciously prevented and remedied for the future long before these Troubles, by his Majesty's Consent to the Bill for *Triennial Parliaments*, and the People would think themselves very happy, if they had no more cause to complain of the Continuance of this, than of the former *Intermission*, they having during those twelve Years, enjoy'd as great a measure of Prosperity and Plenty, as any People in any Age have known, and an equal Proportion of Misery since the beginning of this: For, *the breach of Privilege, and imprisonment of Members*, the Laws were open for all Men to appeal and have recourse to, and that single Person that died under restraint, suffered that restraint by a *Judgment of the King's Bench*, so that if there were any Injustice in the Case, it cannot be charged upon his Majesty.

*The Eighth
Charge.*

VIII. THE Scene is now removed into *Scotland*, and the *new Liturgy* and *Canons* with what succeeded thereupon, makes up the next Charge, aggravated with the *Cancelling and burning the Articles of Pacification* which had been there made upon the Mediation of the *Lords*.

Ex. Col.
p. 106.

IF the King had not been so tender of the *Act of Oblivion* in the Treaty of Pacification between the two Kingdoms, that he would not suffer any Provocation to incline him to ravel in- to that Business, he might easily have freed himself from all those Calumnies and Aspersions; and it will be but Justice and Gratitude in that Nation, highly to resent, that whilst all guilty Men shelter themselves under that *Act of Oblivion*, his Majesty, (who is the only innocent or injur'd Person) should have his Mouth stopped by it (which is his own Expression and Complaint in his Answer to the Declaration at *Newmarket*) from any Reply to the Reproaches cast on him in that Matter; otherwise he might easily have made it appear, that that *Liturgy* and those *Canons* were regularly made and framed, and sent thither by the Advice, or with the Approbation of the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom; and if the putting them in Practice and Execution was pursu'd with more Passion and Impatience there, than in Prudence and Policy was agreeable, the Error was wholly to be imputed to those Ministers of that Kingdom, who were most proper to be trusted in it; however,

ever, that so general a Defection, and Insurrection was not, in any Degree, justifiable or warrantable by the Laws of that Kingdom, is most certain, they having no visible Form either of Parliament or King to countenance them, as the Army hath lately observed: And that the Pacification first made by his Majesty's Mercy, and Christian Desire to prevent the Effusion of the Blood of his Subjects, how ill soever, was broken by them, and thereupon declin'd by the full Advice of the Lords of his Council, by whose unanimous Advice, the Articles were publickly burned, as may appear by the Record in the Council-Book of that Transaction.

*Decl. and
Papers of
the Army.
P. 39.*

IX. IN the next is remembred, *the calling and dissolving the short Parliament,* and the King's proceeding after the Dissolution.

*The Ninth
Charge.*

THAT the calling of that Parliament, was an Act of the King's great Wisdom and Goodness, was then justly and generally acknowledged, and that it was in his own Power to dissolve it when he thought fit, is as little doubted, but that he did unhappily for himself, by false Information in Matter of Fact, and evil Advice, dissolve that Parliament, is believ'd by all Men, and upon the Matter confessed by himself, and that that Information and Advice was most pernicious, and the Rise of all the Miseries we have since undergone, is not deny'd; and 'tis therefore the more wonder'd at, that the Charge of

that Guilt being Part of the Impeachment against two great Persons, whose Blood they have since drunk, that Particular was declined in the Prosecution of them both; and that tho' it be enough known, by whose false Information and Instigation that unfortunate Counsel was followed, extraordinary Care hath been taken, that he should not be question'd for it, which, together with the excessive Joy that the Principal Actors in these late Mischiefs expressed at that sad Time, gives Men Reason to conclude, that it was contrived by those who have reaped the Fruit and Advantage of the Error: What the King took from his Subjects by Power, which he could not otherwise obtain, after that Dissolution, is not particularly set forth, and therefore it is very probable, there was no ground for the Calumny, nor indeed was any Man a Loser by any such Act of his Majesty.

*The Tenth
Charge.*

X. T H U S far the Catalogue reaches of the King's enormous Crimes, during the *first sixteen Years of his Reign, to the Beginning of this Parliament*, in which they confess they proceeded with Ease, as long as there was any Hope, that they would *comply with his Majesty against the Scots*, and give assistance to that War; but when *he found that Hope vain*, and that they began to question the Authors of those pernicious Counsels, his Majesty discovered himself *so strongly and passionately affected to malignant Counsellors, and their Counsels*, that he would sooner

sooner *desert and force the Parliament and Kingdom*, than alter his Course, or deliver up his wicked Counsellors to Law and Justice.

T H E R E are not so many Years expired, since the beginning of this Parliament, (tho' it hath been a tedious Age of Misery and Confusion) but that all Mens Memories will recollect and represent to them the Folly and the Falshood of this Charge: It is not imaginable that the King could expect, after the beginning of this Parliament, that it would comply with him and give him assistance in a War against the *Scots*, when he plainly discover'd, that they who were like to be, and afterwards proved, the chief Leaders and Directors in that Council, were of the same Party; and how far he was from sheltring any Counsellor or Servant from Justice, or any colourable proceeding of the Law, is as well known: Neither did he deny his Royal Assent to any one Bill, till after he was by Force and Tumults driven from *White-Hall*, and after he had indeed consented to whatsoever could be honestly asked of him for the *Security and Benefit of the Kingdom*.

XI. T H E *Queen* is too near his Majesty not to bear a Part and a Share with him in these Calumnies, and therefore her Design to advance Popery is remembred, and her observing a *Po-pish Fast*, with Secretary *Windebank's* going beyond Sea by *His Majesty's Pass*, after he was question'd by the House of Commons.

The Ele-
venth
Charge,

W H A T that Design of her Majesty was for the Advancement of Popery, is not particularly mention'd, and therefore no Answer can be given to it, and having exprest so much Undutifulness and Malice to her Majesty, throughout the whole course of their Rebellion, it is not probable, they have concealed any Thing they could lay to her charge; for the *Fast* observed by her, it is well known that the Time of it, was when the King was in the Field, and his Person liable to much Danger, which Piety and Devotion was very agreeable to her Goodness and exemplary Affection towards her Husband: And the Kingdom would think itself abundantly blessed, if the Fasts since observed by these Men, had produced no worse effects, than that did which was observed by her Majesty. For S. *Windebank*, the *House of Commons* had it in their Power to have proceeded against him, and to have prevented his Escape, he being in the House, and according to Order withdrawn into the Committee-Chamber, after the Report was made, and after as much appeared against him, as was ever objected or discovered afterwards; but the House, contrary to Custom, rose without proceeding upon it, and therefore his Majesty might very well give him leave to dispose of himself: And the Truth is, they by whom the House was then guided, were best pleased with his absence, and purpose-ly declined the proceeding against him, when he was in their Hands, thinking it easier to procure

procure his Place for one of their principal Members, to whom they had design'd it, upon the Advantage of his Flight, than if he had staid to abide his Trial, which for many Reasons they would not have thought fit to hasten, or to proceed in.

XII. THE Allegations of *Commissions given to Popish Agents for private Levies* (ex-charge. The 12th. Charge. except they intend the Collections made amongst the Papists, of Money for the King's Expedition into the *North*, which was likewise amongst, and no less liberally comply'd with by the Lords of the Privy Council, and the other Protestants of the best Quality throughout the Kingdom) or that the Papists began to rise and arm themselves in the *North-west* of *England* and *Wales*, the raising Soldiers under Pretence for *Portugal*, and the seizing of the *Tower*, are so stale, vain and ridiculous, that (though upon the first Contrivance of them, the Fame served the Turn of the Contrivers, Mens Observation and Knowledge having since informed them, that there was nothing like either of them) there needs no further Answer to them.

XIII. THE next Article is, the great *Cal-* (The 13th. Charge. bal for bringing up the Northern Army to overawe the Parliament, the chief Part of which they can prove (they say) to come from himself to the main Actors, tho' the King did so often and solemnly disavow it, as nothing but loose

loose Discourses of a modest Petition, *which also vanished two or three Months* (he saith) *before they knew of it.*

THEY do well to except against the King's positive denying it, when they have only their own confident and positive affirming it for Proof; but they had need suppress and burn all his Majesty's Declarations and Answers, in which he hath abundantly satisfy'd the World in this Particular, as well as they restrain his Person, and as they have concealed all those Depositions taken by themselves in this Argument, which would manifest clearly, that there was no such Design by his Majesty, so they need recall all those they have already Publish'd, if they desire to have that Design believ'd.

Exact
Collect.
p. 107.

THE King in his Answer to the Declaration presented to him at *Newmarket*, uses these Words, *We cannot without great Indignation suffer Ourselves to be reproached, to have intended the least Force or Threatning to Our Parliament, as the being privy to the bringing up the Army, would imply, whereas We call God to witness, We never had any such Thought, or knew of any such Resolution concerning Our late Army: And afterwards his Majesty, in his Declaration of the 12th of August, (a Declaration that never was offered to be Answered) at large set forth all he ever knew of that Business, or which, upon exact enquiry, he could imagin to be in it, by which it plainly appears, that some Officers of the Army, (of very good and confessed Reputation*

putation for their Affection to their Country) observing the strange Petitions every Day presented to the House of Commons against the establish'd Laws and Government of the Kingdom, and the unlawful Manner in the delivering those Petitions, by Thousands of disorderly Persons in Tumults, supposed, that a Petition of a most modest and dutiful Nature from the whole Army, for the composing and settling all Grievances in the Church and State by Law, might for the Reason of it, prevail with the whole House, and coming from such a Body, might confirm those, who might be shaken with any Fears of Power, or Force by the Tumults; and his Majesty being made acquainted with this Proposition, gave his full Approbation to it, which he had great Reason to do, since as there was notable Industry used to corrupt his Army, and to make it applicable to the ill purposes then resolved on; so Pains was taken to perswade the People, that it was in Truth, very indevoted to the King, and ready to serve the Parliament any Way it should direct: And (as his Majesty says) if in the Managery of this Debate, any rash Discourses hapned of bringing up the Army, it is evident whether they were proposed in earnest or no, that they were never entertain'd, and the whole Matter was laid aside, above two Months before any Discovery, so that that Danger was never prevented by the Power or Wisdom of Parliament.

Ex. Col.
P. 524.

Ex. Col.
P. 218.

P. 217.

P. 129.

IT appears by the Evidence and Depositions publish'd by themselves, by the Order of the 19th of May 1642. together with that Declaration, that *this dangerous Plot began without the least Privy of the Kings, upon some Officers taking Offence and Dislike, that of fifty thousand Pounds Order'd for payment of the King's Army, ten thousand Pounds was taken, by an after Order, out of that Sum, to satisfy a new Motion and Importunity from the Scots: And that those Officers, upon that Distaste, discourf'd, that they were disobliged by the Parliament, and not by the King, and thereupon concluded to tender their Services to his Majesty in all Things honourable and agreeable to the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom: That in Debates afterwards together, mention was made of bringing up the Army to London, and making sure the Tower; and as soon rejected, as propos'd; and only propos'd, (as their Evidence says) to shew the Vanity and Danger of other Propositions: And that when the King was made acquainted with it, he said, Those Ways were Vain and Foolish, and that they should think of them no more.*

THAT the Petition itself, which his Majesty approved, and was not above the size of Petitions, and very much modefter than any one Petition received by the Authors of this Declaration with Approbation, appears by the Petition itself, to be read in the 563d Pag. of the 1st Vol. of the Collect. of Ord. Published by themselves, which being directed to the
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two Houses, as well as to the King, took notice of the seditious Tumults, which they said, *had beset the Parliament and White-Hall itself, not only to the Prejudice of that Freedom, which is Necessary to great Counsels and Judicatories, but possibly to some personal Danger of his sacred Majesty and Peers,* and therefore desired, that the Ring-leaders of those Tumults might be punish'd, and that his Majesty and the Parliament might be secured from such Insolencies hereafter; for the suppressing of which, *they offered themselves to wait on them, if they pleased, which hath not been since thought so unnatural a Security, an Army being since called up and kept about them, upon the same Pretences,* to the same Purpose, of which more must be said anon: And for the Strangeness suggested, that three Gentlemen should fly beyond Sea, upon Discovery of a modest Petition, it is no Wonder, when Men were every Day imprison'd, ruin'd, and destroy'd upon the most trivial Discoveries, and unreasonable Conjectures and Apprehensions, that Men desired to avoid their Judgment, (who had it in their Power to put what Interpretation they pleased upon any Discovery, and to inflict what Punishments they thought fit upon such Interpretation) or that the King contributed his Allowance, to remove his Servants from such a Tribunal.

IT is a wonderful Presumption these Men have upon the Credulity of the People, that they will not examin the Truth of any Thing they alledge,

Ex. Col.
p. 223.

Collect.
Exact.
p. 220.

alledge, how easy soever it is to disprove them; otherwise they would not affirm, that at the meeting of Officers at *Burrough-Bridge*, Propositions were made, and private Instructions brought from the King, whereas it appears, by their own Evidence, that Captain *Chudleigh*, who is supposed to have brought those Propositions thither (and what they were, appears not) did not receive those Propositions *from the King*; and that when he kissed the King's Hand, *His Majesty spake not a Word to him of those Propositions*, which, without doubt, he would have done, if he had been privy to, or expected any Thing from his Agitation, it being not alledged, that there was any other Officer of the Army, at that Time, so immediately employ'd or trusted in that Agitation: And as there hath not been the least colourable Evidence in any of the Depositions then, or since Published, which can reflect upon the King: And as there is much in Master *Goring's* second Examination, and other Depositions suppressed by them, which, if produced, would manifest that there was never any such Design, as is suggested; *and that to the very Communication concerning it, the King was not any way privy, and disliked it when he heard of it.* So it was observed then, and not a little wondred at, that Captain *Chudleigh*, who was the Principal Person employ'd, and who confesses in his Examination of the 10th of *May*, that he used all his Power to incense the Army against

against the Parliament; and to kindle a Zeal in them towards the King, was so far from being in disfavour with them, that he was immediately employ'd by them into *Ireland*, and afterwards re-call'd thence, and trusted in the second, if not the first, Command in the *West* against the King, which they would not have done, if he had been in that Manner first engag'd by his Majesty.

FOR the Discourse of the Prince his meeting the Army, with the Earl of *Newcastle*, and Body of Horse, it is prov'd to be by a private *Major* in the Army, who had not only any Relation to the King, but at that Time had never spoken a Word with *his Majesty* in his Life, and had no more Ground, than the other of the Design, for some *French* to seize on *Portsmouth*, which is so ridiculous, that it needs no other Answer than repeating it.

Exact
Collect.
p. 222.

XIV. THE Offers made to the *Scots* of the Plunder of *London*, if they would advance, or of four *Northern* Counties, with three Hundred Thousand Pounds, or *Jewels* of great value, but to stand Neuters in that Design, is another impossible Branch of this Charge, for which there appears not the least Pretence of Proof in any Thing Published by them, (and they have not been tender of Publishing all they know or imagin'd) but that Master *Oneale* asked Sir *Jacob Ashly*, what if the *Scots* could be made Neutral? It is not imaginable that the King

The Four-
teenth
Charge.

King knew not the Temper of that Time (which he so grievously felt) well enough, to conclude that the Parliament and the *Scots* were too fast combined, to be sever'd for any Interest of his; and the Offer of four *Northern* Counties, (a Thing so confessedly out of the King's Power to give) is so senseless a Calumny, that no Man, out of the highest Fit of Madness can believe it, and they to whom this Offer is supposed to be made, would, in all this Time, have accused the King of it, if they had been able to justify any Thing like it.

HOWEVER, it is to be observ'd, that tho' these Men hold these imaginable Overtures and Designs, to be very hainous Crimes in the King, they reckon the reducing such Designs into real and compleat Execution, no Offences in themselves; and that tho' the King may not wish his Subjects of *Scotland* to stand *Neuters* in the Differences between his Majesty and his *English* People, yet it is no Fault in them to ingage that Nation to assist them in Arms against the Sovereign of both Kingdoms; and though a cursory Discourse by other Men, of bringing up the Army to awe the Parliament, be alledged as a Breach of Trust against the King, never to be forgotten, yet the actual bringing up an Army upon them, and thereby awing it so far, as the driving away many Members, and making those who remain'd do any Thing that Army directs, is
no

no Offence in them, either against the Freedom or Privilege of Parliament.

TO that Clause his Majesty not being perswaded by their Petitions to defer his Journey into Scotland, in the Year 1641. there needs no Answer, than the remembring his Majesty's own Words in his Declaration of the 12th of August, which are these: *We gave them warning that if there were any more good Bills, which they desir'd might pass for the Benefit of Our Subjects, We wished they might be made ready against such a Time, when We resolv'd, according to Our Promise to Our Scotch Subjects, (with which they were well acquainted) to repair into Our Kingdom of Scotland, to settle the unhappy Differences there: Upon this We were earnestly desired by both Our Houses of Parliament, to defer Our Journey thither, as well upon Pretence of the Danger, if both Armies were not first Disbanded, as that they had many good Laws in readiness for the settling of Differences here, We were, by their Intreaty, perswaded to defer Our Journey to a Day agreed on by themselves, &c.* Which Relation at large of what followed, may satisfy all Men of his Majesty's extraordinary Compliance; and when he went, he left such a Commission behind him, as was agreeable to Law, and sufficient to prevent any Inconveniencies which might arise in his absence; whereas, That desir'd by them, (being to consent to all Acts they should pass before he return'd) was so monstrous, illegal, and unheard of, that they were

Exact
Collect.
P. 525.

themselves asham'd to press it farther, and rested satisfy'd with that which his Majesty granted; nor does it appear that there was in any Time before, any issued out by the Means of Secretary *Windebank* of a larger extent; or that was not agreeable to Law, and the Policy of that Time.

The Fifteenth Charge.

XV. Now succeeds the high Charge of the Business of *Ireland*, as if they hop'd to perswade the People, that the King is accessory to a Treason and Rebellion against himself; and that in a Time when there were so great Distractions in two of his Kingdoms, he should, himself, put the Third into a Flame, that so he might have none to help him, to quench the Fire that was kindled in the other; the Particulars out of which this grand Charge is compounded shall be severally examin'd.

THEY who have used no kind of Conscience or Civility in the publishing all Letters of his Majesty's, (by what ill Means soever the same have come into their Hands) which they imagin'd might, by the Simplicity and Weakness of the People, or the most malicious Glosses or Interpretations they could put upon them, beget any Prejudice to his Majesty, cannot be imagin'd now to conceal any Thing that would contribute to their Purpose, and therefore their not Publishing those Letters, which, they say, the King sent into *Ireland* by the Lord *Dillon*, immediately before the Rebellion, is Argument sufficient,

sufficient, that either there were no such Letters, or nothing in them, which can in any sense reflect upon his Majesty; nor can it find Credit with any (not maliciously and stupidly sottish) that after so many reiterated Infusions into the People by their several Declarations, that the Rebels of *Ireland* avow'd, that they had a Commission under the great Seal of *England* for what they did; It is now inverted into a Commission under the great Seal of *Scotland*, Sealed at *Edenburgh* when the King was last there; when it is known, he could no more have affix'd that Seal (in whose Hands soever it was) to any such Instrument, (if he had had the Will, which no Christian believes he had) than he can now dispose of that at *London*, of which Commission, the World should long since have been informed by the *Scots*, if they could have found a probable Ground for the Suggestion: And surely these Men would have Published the Depositions of those, who (they say) have seen it, if they had believ'd them such, as would find Credit amongst Men.

W H A T was promis'd to the *Irish* Committee at *London*, is like to be much better known to the Authors of this *Declaration*, than to his Majesty, the greater Part whereof being Papists, and since Active Rebels, having during their stay in *London*, so great an Interest in the powerful and active Members there, that they were able to prevail with them to interpose in

the Affairs of that Kingdom in such manner as they desir'd; and very probably then laid the Foundation, and Design of their future Rebellion, upon the Principles they then saw introduc'd and countenanc'd here: By the earnest Advice, and importunate Interposition of some of those Principal Members, they prevail'd, that after the Death of the Lord Deputy *Wansford*, no such Person might be appointed temporarily to succeed, as was like by his Power and Vigilance to prevent the Wickedness they intended; and if the King gave away, or promised them more than five Counties, it was not upon their private Mediation, but their Publick Address according to their Instructions from the Parliament, after the House of Commons had made the Recovery of, and Intitling his Majesty to those Counties, a particular Article of their Impeachment against the Earl of *Strafford*, and so blemished his Majesty's Just and Legal Interest, and what his Majesty did thereupon, was by the full and deliberate Advice of his Council-Board, according to usual Forms observed in the Affairs of that Kingdom: It is very probable that his Majesty might think himself, at that Time, oppress'd by the two Houses of Parliament, as he had great Cause, but that he should express so much, and wish that he could be revenged on them, to, or before that Committee, whom, at that Time, he had Reason to believe to be combined

bined with the other, is more than very unlikely.

THE not Disbanding the *Irish Army* is next remember'd, and indeed ought not to be forgotten; the not seasonably disposing that Body, giving, no doubt, a great Rise, and contributing much to the Rebellion, that shortly after broke out; but where the Fault of that was, is as evident.

THAT Army was Justly and Prudently rais'd, when the Intention in *Scotland* was clearly known to invade *England*, and with a Purpose to restrain and divert that Expedition, and, if Need were, to reduce that Kingdom to their Allegiance, which was the Sense, and could be no other of those Words charged upon the Earl of *Strafford*, if any such Words were spoken: And after the *Scots Army* was enter'd *England*, it was no Wonder if the King were not forward to Disband that Army, till he could discern that the other did in Truth intend to return, and he no sooner was confident of the one, than he resolved the other; but then he wisely consider'd, that the Disbanding such a Body at that Time, when so much License was transplanted out of this, into that Kingdom, was not so like to contribute to the Peace of it, as the transporting them; and therefore his Majesty agreed with the *Spanish Ambassador*, that he should have Leave to transport three or four Thousand of them for his Master's Service, which was no sooner known, but the *Irish*

Committee then at *London*, (who, it may be, had otherwise design'd the Service of those Men) prevail'd with the House of Commons to interpose, and hinder the Execution of that Agreement, who, (principally, upon Consideration of the Umbrage the Crown of *France* might take at such an Assistance given to *Spain*) pressed the King to revoke that Grant, and to consent to the Disbanding: That Objection was easily answer'd by his Majesty, having agreed likewise with the *French Ambassador*, that the like number should be likewise Transported for *France*, whereby the whole Army would have been disposed of; against which, the *Irish Committee* more pressed than against the other, alledging, that there were not Men in that Kingdom to spare: Whereupon, the House of Commons (by their private Agents) prevail'd with the *French Ambassador* (who more desired to hinder the Supply for *Spain*, than to procure the like for his Master, and it may be, to see the King controll'd by the Parliament than either of the other) to release the King of his Promise to him, so that they would prevent the *Spaniards* having any Men; and thereupon they re-inforc'd their Importunity to the King for the present Disbanding, and not sending any of that Army out of *Ireland* in such a manner, as his Majesty was forc'd to yield to it; and thereby (no question) much was contributed to the Opportunity and Disposition of Rebelling; and to whose Account that Advantage is to be put,

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all the World may judge: Yet it may be fit to observe, that of that *Irish Army* (which these Men would have believ'd to be no less than a *Stratagem* against the Protestant Religion) not one Officer above the Quality of Captain, and not above two of that Condition, have serv'd in that Rebellion in *Ireland* against the King.

IN all Rebellions the Chief Authors and Contrivers of it have made all fair Pretences, and enter'd into such specious *Oaths*, as were most like to seduce and corrupt the People to joyn with them, and to put the fairest Gloss upon their foulest Combination and Conspiracy, and therefore 'tis no Wonder, if the Rebels in *Ireland* framed an *Oath*, by which they would be thought to oblige themselves to bear true Faith and Allegiance to King *Charles*, and by all Means to maintain his Royal Prerogative, at a Time when they intended nothing less: And Owen Connelly (who was the first happy Discoverer of that Rebellion) in the same Deposition, in which he says, *The Rebels would pay the King all his Rights*; says likewise, that they said, *They took that Course to imitate Scotland, who got a Priviledge by it*: And Mark Paget, in the same Examination, in which he says, *That the Rebels report, that they have the King's Warrant and great Seal for what they do*; says likewise, *that they threaten, that as soon as they have rooted out the British and English there, to invade England, and to assist the Papists in England*: And therefore 'tis a wonderful Thing,

Ex. Col.
P. 237.

Ex. Col.
p. 195.

pag. 259.

Ex. Col.
pag. 307.

that what they swear, or what they say, should be imputed to him, against whom they have rebell'd and forsworn themselves. The Authors of this Declaration have (besides their Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*) in the *Protestation* of the 5th of May, Sworn, That *they would Maintain and Defend the King's Royal Person, Honour and Estate*; and shortly after would persuade the People, that *they were by that very Protestation obliged to take up Arms against him*; in their Declaration of the 19th of May, they used these Words, *The providing for the Publick Peace and Prosperity of his Majesty and all his Realms, we Protest in the Presence of the All-seeing Deity, to have been, and still to be the only End of all our Counsels, and Endeavours, wherein we have resolved to continue freed and enlarged from all private Aims, personal Respects, or Passions whatsoever*: And the very next Day Voted, That *he intended to make War against his Parliament, and that whosoever should serve or assist him, were Traytors by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and (upon that Conclusion of his Intention) actually levied an Army, and marched against him.*

IN their *Petition* of the 2d of June, they tell him, *That they have nothing in their Thoughts, and Desires, more precious and of higher Esteem (next to the Honour and immediate Service of God) than the just and faithful performance of their Duty to his Majesty, and together with that Petition, present the Nineteen Propositions to him,*

him, by which they leave him *not so much Power in his Kingdom, as the meanest Member of either House reserves to himself.*

Lastly, (To omit infinite other Instances) in their Instructions of the 18th of August to the Deputy Lieutenants of Cheshire, they requir'd them to declare unto all Men, That it had been, and still should be, the Care and Endeavour of both Houses of Parliament to provide for his Majesty, That they do not, nor ever did know of any Evil intended to his Majesty's Person, when the only Business and End of those Directions and Instructions were to raise that whole County against him: So that this Clause of the Rebels Oath in Ireland, is no more to be objected against the King, than those other Clauses in their own Oaths and Declarations, which they have not yet charged his Majesty withal.

CONCERNING the *Proclamation against the Rebels in Ireland*, which, they say, they could not obtain in divers Months, and then that but 40 Copies were Printed, and express Order given that none should be Publish'd till farther Directions: Hear his Majesty's own full Answer to that Charge, in his Answer to the Declaration of the 19th of May, in these Words, 'Tis well known that we were, when that Rebellion broke forth in Scotland, That we immediately, from thence, recommended the Care of that Business to both Houses of Parliament here, after we had provided for all fitting Supplies from our Kingdom of Scotland, that after Our return hither,

Ex. Col.

p. 572.

Ex. Col.

p. 247.

ther, We observ'd all those Forms for that Service, which we were advis'd to by Our Council of Ireland, or both Houses of Parliament here; and if no Proclamation issued out sooner, it was because the Lords Justices of that Kingdom desired them no sooner; and when they did, the Number they desir'd was but Twenty, which they advis'd might be Sign'd by us, which we, for Expedition of the Service, commanded to be Printed, (a Circumstance not required by them) and thereupon sign'd more than they desir'd: So that it is an impudent Assertion, that they could not obtain a Proclamation in divers Months, when they never so much as desir'd or mov'd it; and it was no sooner mov'd to the King, but he gave Order in it the same Hour.

BUT it will not be amiss, (since this Particular hath been, with so much Confidence, and so often unreasonably objected against his Majesty) to speak somewhat of the Custom and Order usually observed in sending Proclamations into that Kingdom, and of the Reason why so many, and no more were at that Time sent: Except upon any extraordinary Reasons, the King never signs more than the first Draught of the Proclamation, fairly ingrossed in Parchment, which being sent to the Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices in Ireland, is there Printed, and the printed Copies dispersed, as they are in England: His Majesty's Sign Manual being not to any of those Copies: The Lords Justices and Council, taking notice of the Rumour industriously

ously spread amongst the *Rebels*, that *they had the King's Authority for what they did*, which might get Credit amongst some; desir'd That *they might have twenty Proclamations sent over, sign'd by the King's Sign Manual, to the End, that besides the printed Copies, which they would disperse according to Custom, they might be able to send an Original with the King's Hand to it, to those considerable Persons, whom they might suspect to be misled by that false Rumour, who when they saw the King's very Hand, would be without Excuse if they persisted*: This Letter and Desire from the Lords Justices and Council, was communicated to the Council-Board, and the Resolution there taken, That *they should have double the Number they desir'd, sign'd by the King*; and because the ingrossing so many Copies would take up more Time, Directions were given for the Printing *forty Copies*, all which were *sign'd by his Majesty*, and with all possible speed dispatch'd into *Ireland*; and the Caution that there should be no more Printed, than were sent away thither, was very necessary, lest the *Rebels*, by having Notice of it, should find some Device to evade the End, for which they were sent, and be prepar'd to defend their Old, or raise some new Scandal upon his Majesty; besides, that there was no imaginable Reason, why any more should, at that Time, be Printed in *London*.

WHAT was written from Court to the Lord Muskery, that his Majesty was well pleased

fed with what he did, cannot reflect upon his Majesty, nor had the Person who is suppos'd to have written such a Letter (whom they have in former Declarations declared to be the Lord *Dillon*, and who expressly deny'd the ever writing any such Letter) any Place or Relation at Court, and the King had good Reason long after, to write to the *Marquiss of Ormond*, to give particular Thanks to *Muskery* and *Plunket*, they having been both at *Oxford*, employ'd by the *Irish* to his Majesty during the *Cessation*, and having made there such Professions of their Endeavours to reduce the other to Reason, as might merit his Majesty's Thanks and Acknowledgement, which his Majesty hath been as forward to give to such of the Rebels here, as have express'd any Moderation or Inclination to return to their Obedience, and yet he never was well pleas'd with what they have done, nor can give them Thanks for it.

FOR the *delaying and detaining the Earl of Leicester*, beyond all Pretence from going against the Rebels; it is well known how often his Majesty pressed the Houses, that he might be dispatched and sent away, and that it was one of the Reasons, which his Majesty gave in his Answer to the Petition of both Houses of the 28th of *April*, of his Resolution to go in Person into *Ireland*, because the Lord Lieutenant, on whom he relied principally, for the Conduct and Management of Affairs there, was still in this Kingdom, notwithstanding his earnestness expressed, that

that he should repair to his Command; after which, it was near three Months before any Preparation was made for his Journey, and then about the End of *July* or Beginning of *August*, his Lordship came to the King at *York*, to receive his *Instructions*, pretending to have his Dispatch so fully from the two Houses, that he would return no more thither, but as soon as he could have his Majesty's Command, he would immediately to *Chester*, and imbark: This being about the Time that the King was preparing Forces for his Defence against the Earl of *Essex*; the *Earl* was detain'd about a Month before he could receive his *Instructions*, and all those Dispatches that were Necessary, and then he took his Leave of his Majesty, with profession of going directly to *Chester*, but either by Command or Inclination, that Purpose was quickly alter'd, and his Lordship return'd to *London*, where he was detain'd full two Months longer, and then was commanded expressly by the Houses to repair to *Chester*, and not to wait on the King in his Way, tho' his Majesty being then at *Oxford*, he could not avoid performing that Duty, but by avoiding the ordinary Road; when the King heard of his being at *Chester*, where he expected the Ships that were to transport him above three Weeks, and that there was no other Force in readiness to be sent with him, but his own Retinue, those Regiments of Foot and Troops of Horse which had been rais'd for that Service, having been employ'd against his Majesty

Majesty at *Edge-Hill*, and being still kept as a Part of the Earl of *Effex*'s Army, and that there were none of those Provisions or Money to be now sent over, which had been importunately desir'd by the Council of that Kingdom; his Majesty consider'd that the Rebels, having been kept in some awe, with the Apprehension of the Lord Lieutenant's coming over with all such Supplies as were necessary to carry on the War, (the Assurance whereof had likewise kept up the Spirits of the Protestants there) if he should now arrive there in so private a manner, without any Addition of a Strength, or Provision for the Supply of that Strength that was there, it would bring, at the same Time, the greatest Affliction, and disheartning to his Protestant Subjects that could be imagin'd, and an equal Encouragement to the Rebels, and therefore his Majesty sent for him to *Oxford*, till he might receive better Satisfaction from the Houses concerning their Preparations for that Kingdom: So that by whom the Earl of *Leicester* was delay'd and detain'd, the World may judge.

THE *King's Refusal of a Commission for the Lord Brook and Lord Wharton*, hath been long since Answer'd by his Majesty, the Truth of which Answer was never yet deny'd, or reply'd to: That *the Forces to be under their Command, were raised before his Majesty's Commission was so much as desir'd: And then the Commission that was desir'd, should have been independent*

pendent upon his Majesty's Lieutenant of that Kingdom, and therefore his Majesty had great Reason not to consent to it: And how reasonably those Persons were to be trusted with such a Command, may be judged, by their bringing those very Forces which were raised for the Relief of the poor Protestants of *Ireland*, against the Rebels there, to fight against the King at *Edge-Hill*, within a very short time after those Commissions were desir'd.

THEY say they have long since named divers Papists and Persons of Quality, that by the King's special Warrants after the Ports were shut by both Houses of Parliament, passed hence, and headed the Rebels, when they wanted Commanders; examin the Truth of this, which all Men, who will take the Pains, may be Judges of.

HIS Majesty taking Notice of the Effect of this Charge, to be spoken by Master *Pim* at a Conference with the Lords about the beginning of *February*, 1641. (the Speech being Printed) by his Message of the 7th of that Month to the House of Commons, requir'd to know whether such a Thing had been said, and if so, upon what Ground, his Majesty being sure he had used all Caution in the granting of Passports into *Ireland*. Exact Collect. P. 69

The Commons answer'd, That the Speech deliver'd by Mr. *Pim*, was agreeable to the Sense of the House, and that they had receiv'd divers Advertisements concerning several Persons who had P. 70.

had obtain'd his Majesty's immediate Warrant for the passing into Ireland, since the Order of restraint of both Houses; some of which, as they had been informed, since their coming into Ireland, had joyn'd with the Rebels, and been Commanders against them, and some others had been staid, and were yet in safe Custody, the Names of whom they set down, being all in Custody, and said the particular Names of others they had not yet receiv'd, but doubted not, but upon Examination, they might be discover'd: But they said, they believ'd it was by the procurement of some evil Instruments too near his Royal Person, without his Majesty's Knowledge and Intentions.

p. 71.

THE King hereupon reply'd, That the Persons named to be under Restraint, made not good the Assertion in that Speech; besides that, their Passes were granted by his Majesty at his being in Scotland, long before the Restraint, and being Persons of whose good Affections there was then no Suspicion; and that he was most assured, that no such Person as was comprehended under that Charge had passed by his Warrant or Privy: and then he desir'd his House of Commons to consider, whether such a general Information and Advertisement (in which there was not so much as the Name of any particular Person mention'd) be ground enough for such a direct and positive Affirmation, as was made in that Speech, which in respect of the Place and Person, and being acknowledg'd to be agreeable to the Sense of the House, was of that Authority,

rity, that his *Majesty* might suffer in the Affections of many of his good Subjects, and fall under a possible Construction (considering many scandalous Pamphlets to such a Purpose) of not being sensible enough of that Rebellion, so horrid and odious to all Christians, by which, in this Distraction, such a Danger might possibly ensue to his Majesty's Person and Estate, as he was well assur'd his House of Commons would use their utmost Endeavours to prevent; and therefore his Majesty said, *He expected that they should name those Persons*, who by his License had passed into *Ireland*, and were there in the Head of the Rebels; or that if upon their Examination, they did not find particular Evidence to prove that Aspersion (as *his Majesty* was confident they never could) as that Affirmation which did reflect upon *his Majesty* was very publick; so they would publish such a Declaration whereby that Mistake might be discover'd, *his Majesty* being most tender in that Particular, which had reference to *Ireland*, as being most assur'd, that he had been, and was, from his Soul, resolv'd to discharge his Duty (which God would require at his Hands) for the Relief of his poor Protestant Subjects there, and the utter rooting out that Rebellion.

IT was above a Month before the King Ex. Col. could receive any other Answer from them, and p. 117. then they said, *That they had affirmed nothing, but what they had Cause to believe was true*, and

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presented some of their Grounds to *his Majesty*; one of which was, *That those Licenses granted to the Persons under Restraint, were apt to produce such an Effect as was mention'd in that positive Affirmation*; and another Ground was, *That his Majesty could not be assur'd, that no other did pass upon his Licence, and they had Cause to believe, that some did, because they receiv'd such general Information*: Which Reasons (with some others of the same Kind) they said, they hoped would be sufficient to persuade *his Majesty* to believe, that as they had some Cause to give Credit to the said Informations, so they had no Intention to make any ill Use of them to *his Majesty's Dishonour*, but did impute the Blame to his Ministers.

Pag. 18.

THE King reply'd again to that Message, *That there was nothing yet declar'd, that would be a Ground for what Mr. Pim had so boldly affirmed, for yet there was not any particular Person named, that was so much as in Rebellion, much less in the Head of the Rebels, to whom his Majesty had given License, and therefore he expected, that the House of Commons should publish such a Declaration, whereby that Mistake might be clear'd.*

SINCE that Time to the Hour of Publishing this Declaration, they have never made the least Address, or given the least Information or Satisfaction to *his Majesty* in that Particular, which they then said, *they had no Intention to make use of to his Dishonour*; so that this last
Presumption

Prefumption, could proceed only from a Confidence that the People would believe what they said, not examine the Truth of it.

W H A T they mean *by the Commanders and Officers, whom the King (they say) called off from their Trust against the Rebels; and Ships from their Guards at Sea, that so the Rebels might be supply'd with foreign Aids,* is not understood, except by the Ships, they mean those under the Command of Captain Kittleby, and Captain Stradling, who then attended the *Irish Coast*, when all his Majesty's Fleet was seiz'd by the two Houses, and employ'd against him, and whom his Majesty upon that Occasion, and Confidence of the Loyalty of the Commanders, required to attend him with their Ships about *Newcastle, or the North of England*, that he might have two of his own Ships at his disposal, and, at the same Time (that any Inconvenience might be prevented by the coming of Supply to the Rebels) his Majesty gave notice to the two Houses, of his Command in that Particular, and requir'd them to take care for the guarding of that Coast, which they altogether neglected; notwithstanding that, they found Means likewise to seize those two Ships, which his Majesty hoped he should have been possess'd of.

N O R is it better understood what they mean by *Supplies from the Earl of Antrim and Lord Aboyne, or of Arms and Ammunition from the King's Magazines, or from the Queen,* which

no sober Man believes, or of which no Evidence or Instance hath so much as been offer'd: Some few Suits of Clothes, in the beginning of the War, were taken by the King's Soldiers about *Coventry*, when that City was in open Rebellion, which, they pretended, were prepared for *Ireland*, and which his Majesty did what could be done to cause to be restor'd, but it was not possible, and was apparently their Fault, that would not send for a safe Conduct, when they were to pass through his Majesty's Quarters.

AND how far the King was from consenting to, or approving that Action, appears by his Majesty's express Command, (which was executed accordingly) for the transporting into *Ireland* of three thousand Suits of Clothes, which he found provided for that Service at *Chester*, after his Majesty was possess'd of that City, and which had been neglected to be sent, and which no Necessity of his own Army could prevail with him to seize, or divert from that necessary Use for which they were provided.

Ex. Col.
p. 680.

HIS Majesty never deny'd any Pieces of Battery desir'd by the Council of *Ireland*, nor is there the least Colour to affirm the same; what Directions the Rebels gave in their Letters of Mart, or whether they gave any such Directions as are alledg'd, is no way Material to his Majesty; and for Officers and Commanders, who left their Trust against the Rebels, it is sufficiently known, that the Earl of *Leven*, who
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by his Majesty's Consent, was sent General of the *Scots* into *Ireland* against the Rebels, was called from thence to lead an Army into *England* against his Majesty ; and when the King's Commissioners, at the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, alledg'd and complain'd, that many Officers, both *Scots* and *English* had in the beginning of that War left that Service, and been entertain'd by the two Houses against the King, and all the Answer they could receive was, *That they were not sent for,*

THIS being the Case (as without any possibility of Contradiction, it is) these Gentlemen had no more Reason to believe the Rebels, when they did so often swear they did nothing without good Authority and Commission from the King, than the Rebels had to believe them, when they swore on the 22d of *October*, 1642. *That no private Passion or Respect, no evil Intention to his Majesty's Person, nor Design to the prejudice of his just Honour and Authority, engaged them to raise Forces, and the next Day gave His Majesty Battle at Edge-hill: Nor is it more material, that Sir Phelim Oneale would not be persuaded, that General Lesly had any Authority from the King against the Rebels, than that these Gentlemen should be persuaded, in the same Hour, to believe that an Army should be raised for the Safety of the King's Person, and to swear that they would live and die with the Earl of Essex, whom they nominated General to lead that Army against the King.*

Exact.
Collect.
p. 663.

Exact
Collect.
p. 457.

W H A T Information was given divers Months before to the *Archbishop*, and others of the King's Council, of a *Design amongst the Papists for a general Massacre of all the Protestants in Ireland and England, &c.* is no Objection against the King, and as the Archbishop was imprison'd divers Months before that Rebellion broke out, so it is not likely, if they had been able to have charg'd him with any concealment, that they would have forbore accusing him with it at his Trial, when they so much wanted Evidence against him, that they were forc'd to make his Chaplains, not licensing such Books against Popery, as they thought did discredit the Protestant Cause, an Argument of his Treason; and they would likewise now have named the others of the King's Council, if they could have alledged a Matter, that could have reflected upon them or their Master.

N E X T follows a huddle of the *King's Letters to the Pope*, when he was in *Spain*, and of others since, on the behalf of the Duke of *Lorraine*, and of the King's having an *Agent at Rome* (which it is known he never had) some Months before the *Irish Rebellion*: All which are so obscurely mention'd, and so ridiculous, as to any Charge against the King, that they are not worthy any Answer; yet because (how impertinently soever) by the Licence of these Times, much hath been scandalously discours'd of a Letter written by the King, when he was Prince, and in *Spain*, to the Pope, and such a Letter

Tran-

Translated and Printed, out of a Copy published in the *French Mercury*, it may not be amiss to say somewhat of that Business.

THE Prince being, by the command of his Father, sent into *Spain*, to conclude a Marriage with the Daughter of that Crown, which had been long treated of, could not be oblig'd, whilst he was there, to perform all Ceremonies which were requisite, to the compassing the Business he went about; the Kingdom where he was, had a fast Friendship with *Rome*, and such a Kind of Dependence, that a Dispensation from thence was thought Necessary by the Wisdom of the State, to the Marriage in Treaty, towards the procuring whereof, tho' the Prince would not contribute the least Application of his own, yet he was not reasonably to do any Thing, which might make that Dispensation the more difficult to be procured: The Pope that then was, writ a Letter to the Prince, which was deliver'd to his Highness, by his Minister there resident: It was a Letter of Respect, and in the Interpretation of that State, of great Kindness; and it would have been thought a very unreasonable Neglect, if the Prince had vouchsafed it no Answer: On the other Hand, it was easier to resolve, that it was fit to write, than what; in the mean Time, they who were officious that it might be done, prepared the Draught of a Letter, and brought it to him; the which, when his Highness had perused, with his own Hand he expunged those Clauses which

might seem to reflect upon the Religion which he professed, and having so alter'd and mended it, he caus'd it to be sent to the Pope; Copies of the first Draught were spread abroad, by which that was inserted in the *French Mercury*, (which is so carefully Translated and Printed, and dispersed these late ill Years) and now is given in Evidence against his Majesty: But admitting it were the same, and that the Prince being in a Foreign Kingdom, (with the Policy whereof he was then to comply) had written that very Letter, which is Printed, with what colour of Reason can any Man make that an Argument of his Inclination to Popery, who at that Time, and ever since hath given the greatest Testimony of his Affection to the Protestant Religion, that any Prince or private Person hath done? The Authors of this Declaration, would not think it just, that from their very loving Letters to the *Bashaw at Argiers*, and his to them, in which *he thanks God that the Agent of the Parliament of England is come thither, to make a Peace and Love betwixt them to the End of the World*, as appears by the Relation of that Business, fol. 15. Publish'd by their Authority, and from the Amity with them, to that Degree, that they have given the *Turks Men of War* the freedom of their Harbours, Men should conclude, that they are resolv'd to turn *Turks*, and yet such a Conclusion will more naturally result from those Letters, and that

strict

strict Correspondence, than of the King's Affection to Popery from that Letter to the Pope.

IT is said, that the same Design was laid in *England* at the same Time, and that many Thousands were appointed to cut the Protestants Throats in this Kingdom also, when the King went into *Scotland*, and that it was confess'd by some of the Principal Rebels, that their Popish Committee with the King, had communicated that Design with many Papists in *England*, by whose Advice (though some Things were alter'd, yet) it was generally concluded, that about the same Time, there should be the like Proceedings of the Papists here; all which if true, (as no sober Man believes it to be) does no Way reflect upon the King; and that Popish Committee was sent more to the two Houses, than to the King, and were more owned by them, who took special care for their Accommodation.

BY what is said, it sufficiently appears, how unjust and unreasonable all the *particular Scandals* are, with Relation to the Business of *Ireland*, in which his Majesty (how impudently soever he hath been aspersed) never did any, or omitted the doing any Thing, but according to those Rules, which are most justifiable before God and Man; it were to be wish'd that the two Houses of Parliament had but as well perform'd their Duty, and Obligations; but it cannot be forgotten, that near the beginning of this Rebellion, when the Houses pretended wonderful
Difficulty

Ex. Col.
p. 33.

Difficulty to raise Men for that Service, and when a seasonable Supply would utterly have broken and defeated the Rebels, the King sent a Message to them on the 28th of *December*, 1641. That *his Majesty being very sensible of the great Miseries and Distresses of his Subjects in the Kingdom of Ireland which daily increased, and the Blood which had been already spilt, by the Cruelty and Barbarousness of those Rebels, crying out so loud; and perceiving how slow the Succours design'd thither went on, his Majesty himself would take care, that by Commissions (which he would grant) ten Thousand English Volunteers should be speedily raised for that Service, if the House of Commons would declare, that they would pay them: Which Offer from his Majesty was rejected, and no considerable Supplies sent till they had compell'd his Majesty to consent to such a Bill for Pressing, as might divest and rob him of a Necessary and Legal Power inherent in his Crown.*

N O R can it be forgotten, that they reserved those Men, which were raised for *Ireland*, and would not otherwise have been engaged in their Service, but on that Pretence, and brought them to fight against his Majesty at *Edge-hill*, and afterwards retain'd them still in their Service: That they employ'd the Money, raised by Act of Parliament for the Relief of *Ireland*, and with a particular Caution, that it should be employ'd no other Way than for the Support and Maintenance of that Army led by the Earl of *Essex*.

Essex against the King, and that from the beginning of the Rebellion in *England*, (tho' they receiv'd vast Sums of Money rais'd only for *Ireland*) they never administer'd any considerable Supply thither, that they could apply to the advancement of their own Designs at Home against the King.

THESE Particulars (of which Kind every Man may call to Mind many more) nor their notable Compliance with the *Irish* Committee, when they came first over, are remember'd, to imply that the two Houses of Parliament were guilty of raising the Rebellion in *Ireland*, otherwise than by their Principles, and Proceedings in Diminution of the King's Sovereign Power) or that they cherish'd it after it was begun, (otherwise than by not wisely and vigorously endeavouring to suppress it, before it spread so universally) but that which may be justly laid to their Charge is, their affecting and grasping the Power of carrying on that War, which so great a Body is not fit for; their imprudent and unpolitick declaring an Animosity against the whole Nation, and even a Purpose for their utter Extirpation, and disposing their Lands to those, who would be Adventurers for it; which Act and Declaration, it is known, drove many into open Rebellion, who were not before suspected, or, at least, declared to be affected to the Rebels; and, *Lastly*, Their giving all their Minds up to the kindling that horrid and monstrous

strous Rebellion here, rather than to the extinguishing the other in *Ireland*.

The 16th.
Charge.

XVI. N E X T succeeds the Charge against the King, *For the unusual Preparation of Ammunition and Arms* (upon his Return from *Scotland*) *with new Guards within, and about White-Hall; the Fire-works taken and found in Papists Houses, the Tower fill'd with new Guards, Granadoes, and all sorts of Fire-works, Mortars and great Pieces of Battery, the displacing Sir William Balfore, and placing other Officers, who were suspected by them, and the whole City.*

Ex. Col.
p. 528.

N O T to speak of the Entertainment they provided for the King against his return out of *Scotland*, when instead of thanking him for having passed so many good Acts of Grace and Favour to them, that there was no one Thing more, that the Kingdom could reasonably ask from him, or requisite to make them the most happy Nation of the World : They presented him a *Remonstrance* (as they called it) of the State of the Kingdom, *laying before him* (to use his Majesty's own Words) *and publishing to the World all the Mistakes, and all the Misfortunes which happen'd from his first coming to the Crown, and before to that Hour, forgetting the blessed Condition all his Subjects had enjoy'd in the Benefit of Peace and Plenty under his Majesty to the Envy of Christendom* : Not to speak of the Licence then used in Language, when upon Debate of some pretended breach of Order, one of the
Principal

Principal Promoters of this Declaration publickly said in the House of Commons, without controul, *That their Discipline ought to be severe, for the Enemy was in view*, when the King was come within one Day's Journey of the City; his Majesty found a Band of Soldiers entertain'd to guard the two Houses of Parliament, which as it had been never known in any Age before, in that Manner, so there was not now the least visible Cause for it, but that there had been a Plot in *Scotland* against the Persons of the Marquiss of *Hamilton* and *Argyle*, and therefore there might be the like upon some principal Members here: Upon the King's Return, the Earl of *Essex* resign'd up the Commission, with which he had been intrusted by his Majesty, during his absence, to preserve the Peace of the Kingdom, and thereupon that Guard which was drawn together by vertue of that Authority in that Earl, was dissolved with it: The King came then to *White-Hall*, and for what passed afterward, hear in his own Words, in his Declaration of the 12th of *August*, great Multitudes of mutinous People every Day resorted to *Westminster*, threatned to pull down the Lodgings where divers of the Bishops lay, assaulted some in their Coaches, chased others with Boats by Water, laid violent Hands on the Archbishop of *York*; in his passing to the House, and had he not been rescued by Force, it is probable they had murdered him, crying through the Streets, *Westminster-Hall*, and between the two Houses, No Bishops,

Bishops, no Bishops, no popish Lords; *and misused the several Members of either House, who, they were inform'd, favour'd not their desperate and seditious Ends, proclaiming the Names of several of the Peers as Evil and Rotten-hearted Lords; and in their return from thence, made stand before our Gate at White-Hall, said, they would have no more Porter's Lodge, but would speak with the King when they pleas'd; and us'd such desperate rebellious Discourse, that we had great Reason to believe, Our own Person, Our Royal Consort, and our Children to be in evident Danger of Violence, and therefore were compell'd at our great Charge, to entertain a Guard for securing Us from that Danger: These are his Majesty's own Words, and contain no more than is known to all Men, and hath never yet been particularly deny'd by themselves, therefore sure the King had great Reason to provide some Guard for himself; and what was that Guard? Many Collonels and Officers of Quality attended the Parliament for Money due to them by the publick Faith (which to this Day hath not been paid to them) these Gentlemen, upon the Offer of their Service to the King in this Exigence, were list'd, and attended at *White-Hall* to defend it against the Insolency of those Tumults: And the little Ammunition and Arms which was brought thither, was for that Purpose: That the Houses within few Days after, raised a stronger Guard for themselves, without and against the King's Consent, and with that*

and

and other Forces countenanced by that, drove the King from the Town, is as true and notorious to all the World.

W H A T is meant by the *Fire-Works found and taken in Papists Houses*, is not understood, except they intend the Lord *Herbert's House*, which being at that Time mention'd and examin'd, was in the House of Commons rejected, as an idle Bruit, some of their Principal Members affirming they had been there, and were satisfy'd, that there was nothing in the Practice or Design, but what was very justifiable.

T H E *Tower* was so far from being fill'd with new Guards, that there were no new Guards put there, till the Houses took the Boldness to do it; and if the King had made any Addition of Strength to his own Fort, it would have been no more than he might well have done: But that the having Granadoes, and all Sorts of Fire-works, Mortars, and great Pieces of Battery ready prepar'd in the *Tower*, should be objected to the King, is wonderful, since it is the proper Place, where such Utensils for War are to be; and if they had been in any other Place, it might have administer'd some Occasion of Jealousy; there were no more Pieces of Battery prepar'd and mounted against the City, than had been usual and accustom'd.

I T was in the King's just Power to remove any Man from being Lieutenant of the *Tower*, whose Fidelity or Affection he suspected or made question of, yet (what just Reason soever he had

Ex. Col.
p. 546.

had for either) Sir *William Balfore* was removed with his own Consent, and upon such a present Recompence in Money, as himself thought an ample Compensation: It is true, some factious Citizens (who were always ready to be applied to any seditious Action) petition'd against Sir *John Byron*, who succeeded in that Command; and alledg'd that their Jealousy was such, that they were forced to forbear the bringing in of Bullion to the Mint; when, in Truth, there was not one of those who concurred in that Petition, that ever brought Bullion thither, or used that Trade; and to use his Majesty's own Words, it is notoriously known, *There was more Bullion brought into the Mint, in the Time that Gentleman was Lieutenant, than in the same quantity of Time in any Man's Remembrance*: And surely it will be a great brand upon that Time, and the City to Posterity, and an Evidence how far they were from lodging *English* Hearts in their Breasts, that they would think themselves less secure in Sir *John Byron*, a Person of Noble Extraction, generous Education, unblemish'd Reputation, and a full Fortune; than of an Indigent Foreigner, who had no other Arts to live by, than those of which they justly complain'd, and could not serve them, without betraying his Faith to his Master, to whom he was particularly sworn, and engaged by infinite Obligations.

HITHERTO they have examin'd only the Errors and Oversights, at least the less raging Enor-

Enormities of the first sixteen or seventeen Years of his Majesty's Reign, now they are entring into the high Ways, where, they say, *the Track of open Force against the Parliament and Kingdom, did appear more visible.*

XVII. THE first Instance is the Charge *The 17th. Charge* of Treason against some of both Houses; and that *unparallel'd Act of Violence by the King's coming so attended to the House of Commons, which, they say, was, but the Prologue to a bloody Tragedy, &c..*

Though the Tale of the Members did at that Time serve their Turn, to work upon the unskilful and undistinguishing Minds of the People, and to apply them to their Service, it was believ'd they would have now blushed to have remember'd it, since as discerning Men were not at that Time, in any Degree, satisfy'd of their Innocence: So all Men by the demeanour of those Members afterwards, have concluded that the King had very good Reason, then, to accuse them, tho' it may be the Act was not so happily deliberated on, as to fore-see those Accidents, which might disturb the Progress of it.

BEFORE any Thing be said of the Matter itself, how far the King was from doing what was not right, it will not be amiss to look back, how far they then imputed this Act to the King, which is now so principal a Part of the Charge against him: After his Majesty had excepted against some Expressions used by them

Ex. Col.
p. 93.

of his coming to the House of Commons, as if he had intended Violence ; in their Petition presented to him at *Tiballs*, 1st of *March*, 1641. They besought his Majesty to believe, That *the dangerous and desperate Design upon the House, was not inserted with any Intention to cast the least Aspersiō upon his Majesty, but therein they reflected upon the malignant Party, &c.* so that it seems the Houses then were not of the same Opinion these Men are now of.

4 Part In-
stit. fol. 25.

FOR the Matter itself, *That any Members of either House may be prosecuted in the same Manner, as if they were not Members, in the Case of Treason, or Felony, is so known a Truth, that no Man* (who pretends to know the Laws of the Kingdom, or Presidents of Parliament) ever thought the contrary, or heard the contrary said, till since the Case of these Members ; and the same hath been always acknowledg'd in all Parliaments, and may be said to be acknowledg'd by this, since the Lord Chief Justice *Coke* sets it down as a *Maxim*, in his Chapter of the *High Court of Parliament*, which was printed by the special Order of the House of Commons, since this Parliament began.

Ex. Col.
p. 534,
& 535.

THAT the King had Reason to accuse these Members of High Treason, can be as little doubted, since he could make *particular Proof against them of a solemn Combination enter'd into by them for altering the Government of the Church and State ; of their soliciting and drawing down the Tumults to Westminster ;*
and

and of their bidding the People, in the height of their Rage and Fury, to go to White-hall; of their scornful and odious Mention of his Majesty's Person, and their Design of getting the Prince into their Hands; and of their treating with Foreign Power to assist them, if they should fail in their Enterprizes: And why the King's Attorney, upon these Reasons, might not as lawfully accuse those Members of High Treason, as the Attorney General, in the first Year of this King's Reign, did accuse the Earl of Bristol upon a Charge more general, who was thereupon committed to the Tower; and why his Majesty might not as well have expected, that upon his Articles (not so general as a meer verbal Accusation) of High Treason, either House would have committed their several Members, as they had done so many this Parliament; and about that Time, twelve Bishops together (upon a confessed Ground, which every Man there, who knew what Treason was, knew that Fact to be none) meerly because they were accused, his Majesty (upon Occasion of mentioning this Passage) says, He could neither then, nor yet can understand.

THIS being the Case, there remains nothing but his Majesty's own going to the House of Commons, for which, hear his own Words in his Answer to the Declaration of the 19th of May, where that Matter was loudly laid to his Charge: When we resolved, that it was fit for our own Safety and Honour, and the Peace of the Kingdom, to proceed against those

I 2

Persons,

Persons, though we well know there was no Degree of Privilege in that Case, yet (to shew our Desire of Correspondence with the two Houses of Parliament) we chose rather than to apprehend those Persons by the ordinary Ministers of Justice (which according to the Opinion and Practice of former Times we might have done) to command our Attorney General to acquaint our House of Peers with our Intention, and the general Matters of our Charge, (which was yet more particular than a meer Accusation) and to proceed accordingly; and at the same Time sent a sworn Servant, a Serjeant at Arms to our House of Commons to acquaint them, that we did accuse, and intend to prosecute the five Members of that House for High Treason; and did require that their Persons might be secured in Custody: This we did, not only to shew that we intended not to violate or invade their Privileges, but use more Ceremony towards them, than we conceiv'd, in Justice, might be requir'd of us, and expected at least such an Answer, as might inform us, if we were out of the Way: But we receiv'd none at all, only in the Instant, without offering any Thing of their Privileges to our Consideration, an Order was made, and the same Night publish'd in Print, That if any Person whatsoever should offer to Arrest the Person of any Member of that House, without first acquainting that House therewith, and receiving further Order of the House, That it should be lawful for such Members, or any Person

Person to assist them, and to stand upon his or their Guard of Defence, and to make Resistance according to the Protestation taken to defend the Privileges of Parliament; and this was the first Time we heard the Protestation might be wrested to such a Sense, or that in any Case (tho' of the most undoubted and unquestionable Privilege) it might be lawful for any Person to resist and and to use Violence against a publick Minister of Justice, armed with lawful Authority: Though we well know that even such a Minister might be punished for executing such Authority: Upon viewing this Order, we must confess we were somewhat amazed, having neither seen nor heard of the like before, though we had known Members of either House committed, without so much Formality as we had used, and upon Crimes of a far inferiour Nature to those we had suggested: And having no Course proposed to us for our proceeding, we were upon the Matter only told that against those Persons, we were not to proceed at all, that they were above our Reach of the Law: It was not easy for us to resolve what to do; if we employed our Ministers of Justice in the usual Way for their Apprehension (who without doubt would not have refused to have executed our lawful Commands) we saw what Resistance and Opposition was like to be made, which very probable might cost some Blood; if we sat still, and desisted upon this Terrour, we should at the best have confessed our own want of Power, and the Weakness of the Law; in this strait we put on a sudden Resolu-
I 3
tion

tion to try whether our own Presence and clear Discovery of our Intentions (which haply might not have been so well understood) could remove those Doubts, and prevent those Inconveniences which seemed to be threatned : And thereupon we resolved to go in our own Person to our House of Commons, which we discovered not till the Minute of our going, when we sent out, that our Servants and such Gentlemen as were then in our Court, should attend us to Westminster, but giving them expresse Command, that no Accidents or Provocation should draw them to any such Action as might imply a purpose of Force in us, and our self (requiring those of our Train not to come within the Door) went into the House of Commons, the bare doing of which, we did not conceive would have been thought more a Breach of Priviledge, than if we had then gone to the House of Peers, and sent for them to come to us, which is the usual Custom.

*THIS was his Majesty's Answer formerly to this Charge, which is therefore here inserted at large, as being so full that nothing need be added; and it appeared by the Depositions of Barnard Ashly, and others taken by them, that the King gave his Train expresse and positive Charge, that they should give no Offence or ill Word to any Body, what Provocation soever they met with; which Depositions were carefully suppressed, and concealed, whilst they made Use of the Testimony of Indigent and Infamous Fellows, to reproach his Majesty, from
some*

some light and unadvised Discourse, which was pretended to be uttered by some young Gentlemen, who had put themselves into the Train.

To conclude, it is to be observed, that tho' it were so high a Transgression in the King, (against whom Treason can only be committed) to prefer such a Charge against five Members of the House of Commons, who were called together by his Writ, and accountable to him for any Breach of Duty, that it did absolve them from their Allegiance, yet the preferring the like Charge since against *eleven Members* by the Army, raised and maintained by them and to which they were not accountable for any Thing they did, hath been held no Crime; and it may be no ill Exercise for those Gentlemen, who with such high Contempt of that Sovereign Power, to which they owed their Allegiance, took Delight to despise and resist his *Majesty's* just Authority, now in their Affliction, Restraint, and Banishment to consider the Hand of God upon them, which hath compelled them to submit to Mercenary Power raised by themselves to suppress their King; that though they broke through the Kings Article, for endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of this Kingdom, and to deprive the King of his Legal Power, and to place on Subjects an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power: Yet they could not break through the Charge of the Army for invading, infringing, or endeavouring to over-throw the Rights

1st Article
against the
11 Mem-
bers.

1st Article
against the
5 Mem-
bers.

and Libertys of the Subjects of this Nation, in Arbitrary, Violent, and Oppressing Ways, and for endeavouring by indirect and corrupt Practices to delay and obstruct Justice, to the great Damage and Prejudice of divers of the Poor Commoners of *England*.

2d Article
against the
5 Mem-
bers.

THOUGH they were too mighty to be touched upon the King's Accusation of having endeavoured by many foul Aspersions upon his Majesty, and his Government, to alienate the

2d Article
against the
11 Mem-
bers.

Affections of his People, and to make his Majesty odious to them; yet they were not able to bear the Burthen of an Accusation of having endeavoured by false Informations, Misrepresentations, and scandalous Suggestions against the Army, to beget Mis-understandings, Prejudices, or Jealousies in the Parliament against the Army, and to put Insufferable Injuries, Abuses, and Provocations upon the Army, whereby to provoke and put the Army into Dis-temper.

4th Article
against
the 5
Members.

THOUGH they slighted the King's Charge of having trayterously invited and encouraged a Foreign Power to invade *His Majesty's* Kingdom of *England*, yet they cannot throw off the Charge from the Army, of having invited the Scots, and other Foreign Forces to come into this Kingdom in a Hostile Manner, to abet and assist them in the Prosecution and Effecting their Designs.

4th Article
against
the 11
Members.

LASTLY, they may with their Eyes, Hands, and Hearts lift up to Heaven, Remember

member how they contemned and despised the King, when he charged them, that they had endeavoured (as far as in them lay) by Force and Terrour to compel the Parliament to joyn with them in their Trayterous Designs, and to that end had actually raised, and countenanced Tumults against the King and Parliament; and now their own Army whereof very many then assisted them in those Tumults to drive away the King, and the Members of both Houses, accuses them of having invited, encouraged, abetted, or countenanced divers Reformadoes and other Officers and Souldiers, tumultuously and violently to gather together at *Westminster* to affright and assault the Members of Parliament, in passing to and from the House; to offer violence to the House it self; and by such Violence, Outrages, and Threats, to awe and inforce the Parliament.

6th Article against the 5 Members.

5th Article against the 11 Members.

As the Charge allowed, and countenanced now from their own Army, is upon the Matter the same, which was with so much Noise and Insolence rejected, when it was presented from the King, and is now objected against him as a heinous Crime; so with Reference to their Priviledges (which, like the *Logicians Line*, is *divisibilis in semper divisibilia*, and serves their Turn, to enable them to ask any Thing from the King they think fit to demand, and to refuse any Thing to him he requires from them) the Progress and Proceedings thereupon, hath been very different; instead of suspending and dis-

discountenancing them upon the King's Accu-
sation, they are brought in Triumph with an
Army to the House; the Army upon the bare
exhibiting their General Articles, require that
the Persons impeached, may be forthwith sus-
pended from sitting in the House, and will re-
ceive no Denial, it must be consented to, for
they will not indure that the Persons impeached
by them shall continue in Power and Capacity to
obstruct due Proceedings against themselves; and
for their own Escape from Justice to threaten
Ruin to the whole Nation, as by the Letter
from the Army of the 21 of June, appears.

*Decl. and
Papers of
the Army,
p. 52.*

THE King was check'd upon the Matter
of Priviledge, and then imperiously required
to send the Evidence, which he had against
those he had accused, to the House, where
they principally governed, and could easily judge
what was secure for themselves; his Majesty
desired, *that before his Proofs were discovered a-
gainst them, and least a new mistake should breed
more delaies, it might be resolved whether his Ma-
jesty were bound in Respect of Priviledges to pro-
ceed against them by Impeachment in Parliament,
or whether he were at Liberty to prefer an Indict-
ment against them at Common Law, in the usual
way, or had his Choice; to which they would
give no Answer, than that they desired him to
give Directions, that the Parliament might be in-
formed before Friday next, what Proof there was
against them, that accordingly they might be call-
ed to a Legal Tryal, it being the undoubted Right*
and

*Ex. Col.
p. 52.*

and Priviledge of Parliament, that no Member of Parliament can be proceeded against without the Consent of Parliament.

THE Army tells them plainly by their Letter of the 25th of June, That they wished the Name of Priviledges may not lye in Ballance with the Safety of a Kingdom, and the Reality of doing Justice; which (as they had said too often) they could not expect whilst the Persons they had accused, were the Kingdoms and their Judges. And in the Remonstrance of the Army of the 23d of June, that no Priviledges ought to protect wicked Men in doing wrong to Particulars, or mischief to the Publick; and that whoever most adores or tenders those Priviledges, will best express his Zeal towards them, in taking Care they be not abased or extended to Private wrong and Publick mischief, for they say, they clearly find, and all wise Men may see it, that Parliament Priviledges as well as Royal Prerogative, may be perverted and abused, to the Destruction of those greater Ends, for whose Protection and Preservation they were admitted, or intended (*viz.*) the Rights and Libertys of the People, and Safety of the whole; and in Case they be so, the Abuse, Evil, or Danger of them is no less to be contended against, and a Remedy thereof no less to be endeavoured, than of the other: And upon these Grounds they conclude, that they shall be enforced to take such Courses extraordinary, as God shall enable and direct them to, unless by Thursday night next they receive Assurance and Security

*Decl. and
Papers of
the Army,
P. 67.*

Security to themselves and the Kingdom, for a more Safe and hopeful Proceeding in an ordinary Way, by having those Things granted, which before they insisted on.

THESE have been the Proceedings of late in the Point of accusing Members, and in the Case of Privilege, all which are so far justified by the Houses, *that the Army hath received publick Thanks and Approbation for all that they have done*; and their Accusations have been received, countenanced, and promoted, and their desires granted against the Persons they accused, so that as the King did nothing in the Accusation of those Members, but what was justifiable by the Law, and former Presidents of Parliament, so whatsoever he did is since justified by the latter Presidents, which themselves have consented to, and approved; and so we return to the Place from whence this Consideration carried us.

THERE is a mention of the Lord Digby's appearing in a War-like Manner, and afterwards his going beyond the Seas, and from thence giving Advice to the King to retire to some strong Place, &c. which are all so well known, have been so often answered, and have so little Reference to the King, that Time is not to be wasted to reply to them.

The Eighteenth Charge.

XVIII. THE next Charge is, *the Commissions granted to the Earl of Newcastle, and Colonel Legg, for attempting Newcastle and Hull, which*

which (they say) *occasioned them to provide for their Security*; to which their Intelligence of *Foreign Forces from Denmark contributed*; and then they take great Pains to make that Jealousy of *Denmark* reasonable, and fit to sink into them.

THE Commissions granted by the King to the Earl of *Newcastle*, and Colonel *Legg*, were no other than by Law he might grant; neither did he grant any such, before he was assured the leading Members in the House of Commons had it in their purpose to procure an Order for the seizing that Town, and after they had caused a Power to be placed about the *Tower of London* both by Land and Water under the Command of their new Officer *Skippon*, who was required not to suffer any Provisions to be brought in thither by what Authority or Warrant soever.

IF there had been any Expectation, or Apprehension of foreign Forces to be brought from *Denmark*, that could be no Warrant for them to seize on *Hull*, without and against the King's leave, whose peculiar Jurisdiction and Right it is to provide against foreign Invasions; but as that Discourse of Forces from *Denmark*, was then looked upon as most ridiculous by all Men of Sense, so Experience hath since made it apparent, that there was not the least Colour for it: And the Arrival of that Vessel with Ammunition and Arms (for there came no Commanders in her) near *Hull*, was near
fix

six Months after the Houses had put a Garrison into *Hull*, and near three Months after Sir *John Hotham* had shut the Gates of it against his *Majesty*; and if it had not been for that rebellious Act, that Ammunition and Arms had not been sent.

THE Invasion of the King of *Denmark's* Dominions by the *Sweeds* was above two Years after the seizing of *Hull*, therefore that could not be any Interruption to that Design, if it had been intended; but that a frivolous Report of a Discourse between a Servant of the Lord *Digby's*, (that was never named) with a Mariner, whom he had never seen before, to conduct a Fleet into *England* from *Denmark*; or an intercepted Letter from the *Hague* to Secretary *Nicholas*, which is pretended to be written the 26th of *November*, after the Battle of *Edge-Hill*; and in which is mention of Arms for ten thousand Foot, and for fifteen hundred Horse should be thought of Moment to justify a rebellious Jealousy of the King's Purpose of countenancing an Invasion of his own Kingdom, is below the Folly and Sottishness of any, to whom Satisfaction ought to be applied.

THE employing of Colonel *Cockram* to the King of *Denmark*, was after the Rebellion was begun, and when the Earl of *Essex* was marching with his Army against his *Majesty*, and the principal Instruction given to him, was to press that King to assist his *Majesty* with Money,

Money, Arms, and Ammunition, (the two Houses having seiz'd all which belong'd to his Majesty) and that the same might be sent by some Ships of that Crown, because all the King's own were taken from him, and lay in wait to intercept any Provision that should be sent to his Majesty; and it is no wonder if the King endeavour'd, by his Instructions to his Agent, to make his Uncle of *Denmark* as sensible as he could of the Injuries and Indignities offer'd to his Majesty; nor was that very Clause (with which these wicked Men so insolently and rudely reproach his Majesty) without good Grounds, it being known, that they ordinarily whisper'd many Things then in their private Cabals, which they durst not publickly avow; of which Nature were their Discourses of the Death of King *James*, which they are now grown up to the Wickedness to Publish, and the other which was mention'd in that Instruction.

THEY say, *they repeat this rather, because when they declar'd their Intelligence, that Cockram was sent into Denmark to procure Forces thence, the King disavow'd it, calling it a vile Scandal, in his Answer to their Declaration of the 22d of October 1642.*

THEIR Charge upon the King in that Declaration of the 22d of October was, *That Sir John Henderson and Collonel Cockram (Men of ill Report both for Religion and Honesty) were sent to Hamborcugh and Denmark, as they were credibly inform'd, to raise Forces there, and*
to

Ex. Col. *to bring them to Newcastle, and to join with the*
 P. 670. *Earl of Newcastle, &c. To this the King*
made Answer, That he had never greater Cause
to be confident of Security in his own Subjects,
and therefore he could not believe so vile a Scan-
dal could make any Impression in sober Men:
And it is known he did desire no other Aid
or Supply at that Time from Denmark, or
from any of his Allies, but Money, Arms and
Ammunition; but if he had not been Confident
in the Security of his own Subjects, he would
have been justly to be blam'd, if he had not
endeavour'd to get any Foreign Succours to
preserve himself, his Crown, and the Kingdom
from being over-run and subdu'd by the Power
and Strength of his rebellious Subjects.

IN the same Instructions to Cockram, they
 say, *the King declared, that he then expected As-*
sistance from his neighbouring Princes and Allies,
in particular the greatest Part of the States
Fleet from Holland: Which, if it were truly
set forth, needs no Answer, it being very rea-
sonable that the King should have expected,
that all his Neighbour Princes and Allies should
have assisted him against so odious and horrid
a Rebellion; and it may be many of them may
live to find the Inconveniency of not being sen-
sible of the Assault, which hath been made
upon Sovereignty, especially, if instead of assist-
ing the King, they have contributed towards
the oppressing the Regal Power; but these
Men are such Enemies to Ingenuity, that in
 the

the very repeating what hath been said or done by the King, they will leave out any Words that will make the Sense otherwise understood, than fits their Purpose, tho' any Man that will take the Pains to examin it, will quickly find the Truth ; so they who will peruse these Instructions (by what Means soever they came by them) published by themselves, will find that the King mention'd the *Holland Fleet* only, *as allowed by the States to give her Majesty a Convoy into England*, which these Men would have understood, as lent to assist the King against his rebellious Subjects ; whereas it is too well known, that at that Time the two Houses found more Respect and Assistance from those States, than his Majesty did ; and what his Majesty then said of his Neighbouring Princes and Allies (which they would persuade the People to relate to some present Engagement from them to send Forces to him) being only grounded upon his reasonable Hope of the Sense those Princes would have of the Indignities offer'd to his Majesty, his Words being, *He expects and hopes that all his Neighbour Princes and Allies, will not look upon so dangerous a Precedent to their own Crowns and Monarchies, without contributing to suppress this so pernicious a Design begun in this Kingdom*: God forgive those Princes who suffer'd his Majesty to be deceiv'd in so Just and Princely an Expectation.

King's
Cabinet,
p. 41.

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Exact
Collect.
p. 635.

IT is here likewise to be remember'd, that the two Houses had dispatch'd their Agent *Strickland*, to the *States* of the united Provinces, to invite them to their Amity and Assistance, and to decline their League with his Majesty, before Colonel *Cockram* was sent for from *Denmark*, their Declaration to those Provinces bearing Date the 8th of October, which was before the Time that *Cockram* went towards *Denmark*.

The 19th
Charge.

XIX. THE Queen's going into Holland, is next objected to the King, and that, contrary to his Trust, he sent the antient Jewels of the Crown of England, to be pawn'd or sold for Ammunition and Arms, of which, they say, they had certain Knowledge before they took up Arms; and that they had not so much as once ask'd the Militia, till the Queen was going for Holland; and that her going beyond Sea was stay'd, many Months before her going into Holland, by their Motions to the King, because (amongst other Reasons) they had heard, that she had pack'd up the Crown Jewels, by which they might see what was then intended by that Journey, had not they prevented it till the Winter.

When they
first took
up Arms
against the
King.

THEY are very unwilling to agree upon the Time when they first took up Arms, and would have their seizing upon the King's Forts, possessing themselves of the Militia of the Kingdom, of the Royal Navy, to be thought only an Exercise of their Sovereign Power, and no taking

king up of Arms; but tho' they could persuade the World that the countenancing and bringing down the Tumults, by which they first drove away many Members from the Houses, and then the King himself from *White-Hall*, was not taking up Arms, because there was no avow'd Act of both Houses to bring down those Tumults; yet sure they cannot deny their *marching out of the City with all the Train-Bands of London, in a hostile Manner to Westminster*, where both Houses gave the Chief Officers Thanks, approved what they had done, undertook to save them harmless, and appointed a new Officer of their own to Command those Train-bands, which was on the Eleventh of *January, 1641*, to be taking up Arms.

WHEN they appointed the next Day their own new Officer *Skippon* to besiege the *Tower of London*, with the City Forces, by Land and Water, and not suffer any Provision to be carried thither, when the King's Lieutenant was in it, and declar'd, *That whosoever should trouble him for so doing, was an Enemy to the Common-wealth*, which was accordingly executed by him; they must confess, undoubtedly, that they took up Arms; and both these high Actions (which by the express Statute of the 25th Year of King *Edw. III.* are High Treason) were before any one *jewel* belonging to the Crown or the King, was carried out of the Kingdom.

FOR the Time of asking the *Militia*, tho' no Circumstance of Time could make it justifiable (not to speak of the Bill preferr'd to that Purpose many Months before) the House of Commons by their Petition of the 26th of *January*, after the House of Peers had refused to concur with them in so disloyal a Suit, *desir'd his Majesty to put the Tower of London and the Principal Forts of the Kingdom, and the whole Militia, into such Hands as they thought fit ;* and the *Queen* went not into *Holland* till the 23d of *February*, neither was her Journey resolved on till the Beginning of that Month ; so that their Assertion of not having so much as asked the *Militia* till the *Queen* was going into *Holland* is utterly untrue, and when they were made acquainted of such her Majesty's Purpose, they never in the least Degree dissuaded it.

BUT what was the *Queen's* going into *Holland*, and the *King's* sending with her the *Jewels* of the Crown, to their taking Arms ? The *Queen* might very well go to any Place the *King* thought fit she should go, and the Princess *Mary* being at that Time to go into *Holland* to her Husband, his Majesty thought it fit that the *Queen's* Majesty should accompany her Daughter thither : And for the Jewels of the Crown (tho' most of the Jewels carried over by the *Queen*, were her own proper Goods) let them shew any Law, that the *King* may not dispose of those Jewels for the Safety of his

his Life, and to buy Arms and Ammunition to defend himself against Rebels, who had seized all his Revenue, and have left him Nothing to live upon, but those Jewels, which he had only in his Power to convey out of theirs, or to leave them to be seiz'd on and sold by them, who apply'd all that he had else, and his own Revenue, to hasten his Destruction.

IN their Mention of the Queen's former Purpose of going beyond Seas, stay'd (as they say) upon their Motion, because they had then heard, she had pack'd up the Crown Jewels and Plate, they use their old and accusom'd Licence.

IF they will examine their own Journal, they will not find amongst all those Reasons, which were carried up by Master *Pim* to the Lords at a Conference on the 14th of July, and the next Day presented to the King to dissuade her Majesty's Journey, the least mention, of her having pack'd up the Crown Jewels and Plate, but *that they had receiv'd Information of a great Quantity of Treasure in Jewels, Plate and ready Money, pack'd up to be convey'd away with the Queen; and that divers Papists and others, under Pretence of her Majesty's Goods, were like to convey great Sums of Money and other Treasure beyond the Seas, which would not only impoverish the State, but might be employ'd to the fomenting some mischievous Attempts to the Trouble of the publick Peace.* And they might remember that the

Chief Reasons they gave to dissuade her Majesty, was, their Profession and Declaration,
 5 Reason. *since they heard that the Chief Cause of her Majesty's Sickness proceeded from Discontent of her Mind, that if any Thing which in the power of Parliament might give her Majesty Contentment, they were so tender of her Health, both in due respect to his most excellent Majesty and herself, that they would be ready to further her Satisfaction in all Things ; and that it would*
 6 Reason. *be some Dishonour to this Nation, if her Majesty should at this unseasonable Time, go out of the Kingdom, upon any Grief or Discontent receiv'd here ; and therefore they would labour by all good Means to take away and prevent all just Occasions of her Majesty's Trouble in such Manner as might further her Content, and therein her Health, which would be a very great Comfort and Joy to themselves, and the rest of his Majesty's loving Subjects.*

THESE Obligations they should have remembered, and left the World to remember how punctual they were in the Performance: The Discourse at Burrough-Bridge, that the King would pawn his Jewels for the Army, is as material, as any other Part of the Discourse there, being said only by Captain Chudleigh, who, it seems, believ'd it not, by his engaging himself to the Parliament from that Time, (as the better Pay-masters) and was highly valu'd by them.

Ex. Col.
p. 220.

XX. IT seems they take it as granted, that *The Twen-*
 their frivolous and malicious Allegations will ^{*tietb*}
 serve their turn instead of Proofs, and therefore *Charge,*
 they take the Boldness to tax his Majesty *with*
breach of Honour and Faith, and to reproach him *for*
calling God to witness, and making so many
solemn Protestations against any Thought of bring-
ing up the Northern Army, or of levying Forces
to wage War with his Parliament, or of bring-
ing in foreign Forces or Aids from beyond the
Sea, which (they say) himself said would not
only bury the Kingdom in sudden Destruction and
Ruin; but his own Name and Posterity in perpe-
tual Scorn and Infamy.

IF these Gentlemen would deal faithfully
 with the World, and confess what troubles them
 most, they would acknowledge that their Grief
 is, that the King is so punctual and severe in
 keeping his Word, and Protestations; not that
 he is apt to fall from them. If he would have
 practiced their Arts of dissembling, and descend-
 ed to their vile Licence of Promising and Pro-
 testing, what he never meant to think of after,
 he might have prevented them in many of
 their Successes; but the Greatness of his Mind
 always disdained even to prosper or be secure
 by any Deviations from Truth and Honour;
 and what he hath promised he hath been religi-
 gious in observing, though to his own Damage
 and Inconvenience; he hath made no Protesta-
 tion about bringing up the *Northern Army, or*
 K 4 *levy-*

levying Forces against the Parliament, or for the Rights of the Subject, which was not exactly true and agreeable to the Princely Thoughts and Resolutions of his Heart.

Ex. Col.
p. 100.

Pag. 108.

THE Occasion of his Majesty's using that Expression concerning *foreign Force*, (which is here remembred by them) was this: In the Declaration delivered to his Majesty from the two Houses at *Newmarket* on the 9th of *March*, 1641, they told him, *that by the manifold Advertisements which they had from Rome, Venice, Paris, and other Parts, they expected that his Majesty hath still some great Design in Hand, and that the Pope's Nuntio had solicited the Kings of France and Spain to lend his Majesty four thousand Men a piece to help to maintain his Royalty against the Parliament, were some of the Grounds of their Fears and Jealousies; to which his Majesty made Answer in these Words, What your Advertisements are from Rome, Venice, Paris, and other parts, or what the Pope's Nuntio solicited the Kings of France or Spain to do, or from what Persons such Informations come to you, or how the Credit and Reputation of such Persons have been sifted and examined, we know not, but are confident no sober honest Man in our Kingdoms can believe that we are so desperate, or senseless to entertain such Designs as would not only bury this our Kingdom in sudden Destruction and Ruin, but our Name and Posterity in perpetual Scorn and Infamy.*

T H A T

T H A T this Answer was most prudently and justly applyed to that extravagant and senseless Suggestion cannot be doubted, but because the **King** at that Time before the War, or a declared purpose in them to raise a War against him, held it an odious and infamous Thing to think of bringing in foreign Forces upon his own Kingdom, that he might not therefore think it afterwards necessary, and find it just to call in foreign Succours to defend him from a Rebellion, that besides mixtures of all Nations was assisted by an entire foreign Army to oppress him and his Posterity; no reasonable Man can suggest or suppose; and yet how far he hath been from entertaining any such Aid, the Event declares, which, it may be, many wise Men reckon amongst his greatest Errors and Oversights; and which no Question (if he had not been full of as much Tendernefs and Compassion towards his People, as these Men want) he would have found no Difficulty to have practised.

T H E Y proceed to improve this groundless and unreasonable Scandal by another Instance, *that when his Majesty himself, and the Lords made a Protestation at York against levying Forces, he commanded his Subjects by Proclamation to resist the Orders of the Parliament, and did many other Facts contrary to that Protestation,* the Particulars whereof are mentioned, and shall be examined and answered.

T H E A C T which they call a Protestation by the King and the Lords at York passed on th 15th Day

Day of *June*, 1642, being six and twenty Days after both Houses had declared *that the King intended to levy War against the Parliament*, and thereupon published their Propositions for bringing in Money or Plate for the raising and maintaining an Army: The King conceiving so positive and monstrous an Averment might make some Impression upon, and gain Credit with his People, called the Peers together who attended him, and taking Notice of that wicked Declaration, declared to them, *That he always had, and then did abhor all such Designs, and desired them to declare whether being upon the Place they saw any Colour of Preparations or Counsels that might reasonably beget a Belief of any such Design, and whether they were not fully persuaded that his Majesty had no such Intention*; whereupon seven and thirty Peers, who then attended his Majesty (being double the Number that at that Time or since remained in the House of Peers at *Westminster*) unanimously declared under their Hands (which was published to the Kingdom) that they saw not *any Colour of Preparations or Counsels that might reasonably beget the Belief of any such Design, and did profess before God, and testifie to all the World, that they were fully persuaded that his Majesty had no such Intention, but that all his Endeavours did tend to the firm and constant Settlement of the true Protestant Religion, the just Priviledges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace,*

Ex. Col.
p. 357.

Peace, and Prosperity of the Kingdom; notwithstanding which clear Evidence they made what **Haste** they could to raise an Army, and to engage the People against their Sovereign Lord the King.

T H A T his Majesty intended not by that Profession on his Part, nor the Lords thought themselves obliged on their Parts to give any Countenance to, or not to resist the Orders which then issued out every day from those at *Westminster*, who called themselves *the two Houses* needs no other Evidence than his Majesty's Declaration published two Days before (*13th of June*) in which among other Particulars, he declared to the Peers, *That he would not* **Ex. Col.**
(as was falsely pretended) engage them, or any of **P. 349.**
them in any War against the Parliament, except it were for his own necessary Defence and Safety against such as should insolently invade or attempt against his Majesty, or such as should adhere to him: And that very Day the very same Peers (whereof the Earl of *Salisbury* was one) engaged themselves to the King under their Hands, *That they would defend his Majesty's Person, Crown and Dignity, together with his Majesty's just and legal Prerogative against all Persons and Power whatsoever, and that they would not obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance whatsoever concerning any Militia, that had not the Royal Assent.*

T H E first Commission of Array issued out some Days before this Profession and Protestation

testation made by his Majesty, and therefore cannot be said to be against it; and above three Months after the passing the illegal and extravagant *Ordinance for the Militia*, and after that Ordinance was executed in many Parts of the Kingdom, notwithstanding his Majesty's Proclamation of the Illegality and Treason of it, when he had desired them to *produce or mention, one Ordinance from the first beginning of Parliaments to this very Parliament, which endeavoured to impose any Thing upon the Subject without the King's Consent*; of which to this Day they never gave or can give one Instance. The Commission it self of Array is according to Law, and so held to be at this Time by most learned Lawyers, and was so declared to be by Mr. Justice *Hutton* in his Argument in the Exchequer Chamber in the Case of Mr. *Hambden*.

THE Letter which they say they can produce under his Majesty's own Hand to Sir *John Heydon* Lieutenant of the Ordnance, of the 20th of June, 1642. is no Way contrary to his Majesty's Professions, and such as his Majesty in that Ill Time was necessarily to write, being to a sworn Officer and Servant of his own, to send such of his own Goods to him as were in his Custody, and which his Majesty so reasonably might have Occasion to use; and if he wished it might be done privately, it is only an Instance of the Wickedness of that

that Time, that the King was forced to use Art and Privacy to get what belonged to him, least he might be robbed by those, who nine Days before the Date of this Letter had published Orders to intercept whatsoever was going to him.

Ex. Col.
P. 342.

HIS Majesty required not any Subscription for Plate, Horses, or Arms, till many Days after they had published their Propositions to that Purpose, and received great Sums of Money, and vast Quantities of Plate upon those Propositions, against which his Majesty writ his Princely Letter to the City of London on the 14th of June, and two Days after published a Declaration with the Testimony and Evidence of all the Peers with him, in which he said, *That if notwithstanding so clear Declaration and Evidence of his Intentions, these Men should think fit by those Alarums to awaken him to a more necessary Care of the Defence of himself and his People, and should themselves in so unheard-of a Manner provide (and seduce others to do so too) to offend his Majesty, having given him so lively Testimony of their Affections, what they were willing to do, when they should once make themselves able; all his good Subjects would think it necessary for his Majesty to look to himself; and he did then excite all his Well-affected People, according to their Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and according to their solemn Vow and Pro-*

Ex. Col.
P. 35.

testation

testation (whereby they were oblig'd to defend his Person, Honour and Estate) to contribute their best Assistance to the Preparations Necessary for the opposing and suppressing of the Trayterous Attempts, &c.) And then he would take it as an acceptable Service, if any Person upon so urgent and visible a Necessity of his Majesty, and such an apparent Distraction of the Kingdom, would bring in to him, or to his Use, Money or Plate, or would furnish Horse, or Arms, &c. This was the Time, and the Manner of his Majesty's requiring Subscription, for Plate, Horse and Arms, which these Men impute to him.

THEY say the King raised a Guard of Horse, and Foot about him; and by them did not only abuse their Committees sent to him, beat their Publick Officers and Messengers, protect notorious Papists, Traytors or Felons, such as Beckwith and others, from the Posse Comitatus, but also with those Guards, Cannon and Arms from beyond Sea, did attempt to force Hull, in an hostile Manner, and that within few Days after that solemn Protestation at York: All which Suggestions must be particularly examin'd: The raising the King's Guard was on this Occasion, and in this Manner:

THE King residing with his Court at the City of York, and being pressed by both Houses of Parliament to consent, that his Magazine at Hull might be remov'd from thence (for the better Supplies of the Necessities for Ireland) to the Tower of London, which for many

ny Reasons he thought ot convenient, his Majesty resolved to go himself in Person to his Town of *Hull*, to view his Arms and Munition there, that thereupon he might give Directions what Part thereof might be necessary to remain there, for the Security and Satisfaction of the *Northern* Parts, (the Principal Persons thereof having petition'd him, that it might not be all remov'd) and what Part might be spared for *Ireland*, what for the arming the *Scots*, who were to go thither, and what to replenish his chiefeft Magazine the *Tower of London*; and going thither on the 23d Day of *April* 1642. he found all the Gates shut against him, and the Bridges drawn up, by the Command of Sir *John Hotham*, who flatly deny'd his Majesty's Entrance from the Walls, which were strongly mann'd, and the Cannon mounted thereon and planted against the King; his Majesty having, in vain, endeavour'd to persuade Sir *John Hotham*, and offer'd to go in with Twenty Horse, because he alledg'd his Retinue was too great, was at last compell'd to return to *York*, after he had proclaim'd *Hotham* Traytor, which by all the known Laws, he was declar'd in that Case to be.

Exact
Collect.
p. 152.

THE next Day the King sent a Message to the Houses to require Justice upon Sir *John Hotham*; to which they return'd no Answer, till above a Fortnight after; in the mean Time they sent down some of the choice Members to *Hull*, to give Sir *John Hotham* Thanks for
what

Ex. Col.
Pag. 179.

what he had done; and to assure him *that they would justify him in it*; and others into *Lincolnshire*, with Directions to their Deputy Lieutenants and all other Officers, to assist him if he were in any Distress; and then they sent some other Members as their Committee to *York*, with their Answer to the King, in which they told him, *That Sir John Hotham could not discharge the Trust upon which, nor make good the End for which he was placed in the Guard of that Town and Magazine, if he had let in his Majesty with such Counsellors and Company, as were then about him; and therefore upon full Resolution of both Houses, they had declar'd Sir John Hotham to be clear from that odious Crime of Treason; and had avow'd, that he had done nothing therein, but in Obedience to the Commands of both Houses: Whereas in Truth, tho' they had presum'd against Law and Right to send him thither, and constitute him Governour, for a Time, of that Place, there was no Word in his Commission, or Instructions implying the least Direction, not to suffer his Majesty to come thither; but on the contrary, the Pretence was for his Majesty's especial Service.*

His Majesty made a quick Reply to this strange Answer, and delivering it to their Committee, wished them to return with it to the Houses, which they refus'd, telling him, *That they were appointed by the Parliament, to reside*
at

at *York*, but they would send his Answer to *Westminster*.

IT would be too long in this Place, and might be thought impertinent to consider, whether this Custom of sending Committees to be *Lieger* in the Counties, which began at this Time, be agreeable to Law, and the just regular Power of the Houses; for as the like will not be found in the Presidents of former Parliaments, so it may be reasonably believ'd, that that Council which is called by the King's Writ to assemble at *Westminster*, can no more appoint some of their Members to reside at *York*, or in any other Place, than they can adjourn themselves thither; and it seems against Right, that those Deputies which are sent by the Counties or Cities to be present on their behalfs, in the House of Commons at *Westminster*, may be sent to another Place, by which they whom they represent are without any Members there.

UPON this Answer of the Committee, as unexpected, as the other from the Houses; and the other Acts done in this conjuncture, as the sending another Committee to *Hull*, another into *Lincolnshire*, all to persuade the People to approve of what Sir *John Hotham* had done, and to assist him if there were any Occasion; the King began very justly to apprehend a Design upon his own Person, and then, and not till then, resolved, and declar'd his Resolution to have a Guard to secure his Person, that Sir *John Hotham* might not (as his Majesty

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Collect.
p. 261.

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said)

saide) by the same Forces, or more, raised by Pretence of the same Authority (for he raised some daily) continue the War, that he had levied against him, and as well imprison his Person as detain his Goods, and as well shut his Majesty up in York, as shut him out of Hull.

THIS Guard was hereupon raised, with the Advice of the Principal Gentlemen of that County, and consisted of one Regiment of their Train-bands, commanded by the proper Colonel, who was one of the prime Gentlemen of Fortune and Reputation there; and one Troop of Horse, which had the Honour of being called *the Prince of Wales's Troop*, commanded by the Earl of Cumberland, and consisting of near one Hundred, most, if not all of them, of the Gentry of that Shire; and that the Rumour, Scandal, and Imputation of entertaining *Papists*, might be clearly answer'd; there was neither Officer or Soldier of the Regiment or Troop, who did not take the *Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy*, and they were punctually paid by the King, that there might be no Complaint on any Side.

THIS was the Guard, the Occasion, and Manner of levying it, full five Months after the two Houses, against Law or President, and without the least probable Colour of Danger, had raised a greater Guard for themselves, under the Command of their New Officer *Skippon*, after they had besieged the Tower, and compell'd the King to commit the Government of

of it to a Man of their own Nomination, and Election; after they had put a Governour and Garrison into *Hull*, and that Governour and Garrison kept his Majesty out of the Town; after they had, in Defiance of his Majesty and against his exprefs Pleasure signify'd to them, put his Royal Navy into the Hands, and under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*; after they had in many Counties executed the Ordinance of the *Militia*; and after they had brought the Danger to his Chamber Door, by their Orders to the very Sheriff of *Yorkshire* to assist Sir *John Hotham*, and employing their Committee there to the same Purpose.

FOR abusing the Committees sent to his Majesty, they should (and no doubt if it had been in their Power they would) have mention'd one particular Abuse offer'd to them; it is very well known that they had all Freedom and Respect, albeit his Majesty well knew the ill and Seditious Offices they did there; and tho' they appeared publickly at all Meetings, and when his Majesty proposed any Thing to the County, they produced their Instructions, and dissuaded the County from complying with his just Desires; the suffering and induring whereof might more reasonably be imputed to the King, than any ill usage they receiv'd; of which, their own Letters printed by Order, will be sufficient Testimony; and when the King

Ex. Col.
p. 185.

would erect his Royal Standard ; the Lord *Fairfax* (being one of that Committee) by some Accident of Sickneſs, continuing ſtill at his Houſe in that County ; albeit the King well knew the Diſ-ſervice he had done him, and that the keeping him in Priſon might prevent much more, that he was like to do him, yet ſince he had receiv'd him there as a Member employ'd from the Parliament, and that his return thither was hinder'd by an indispoſition of Health, he would not ſuffer him to be apprehended, but left him undiſquieted, or diſturbed, to recollect himſelf, and to revolve his Maſteſty's Goodneſs : So far was that Committee, or any Member of it from being abuſed, whatſoever they deſerved.

THE next Inſtance of the King's breach of his Proteſtation, or doing ſomewhat againſt it, is, *the beating their publick Officers and Meſſengers, and protecting notorious Papists, Traytors, Felons, ſuch as Beckwith and others from the Poſſe Comitatus* : Since there is no other named, it may be ſuppos'd, that this is the only, or moſt notorious example of that Protection, and therefore it will be fit to examine, what the Caſe of this Man was.

THIS Gentleman Mr. *Beckwith* (whether a Papist or no is not material) lived in *Beverly*, whither his Maſteſty came that Night, after Sir *John Hotham* had reſuſed to ſuffer him to come into *Hull*, and was utterly unknown to his Maſteſty, but had the juſt Senſe an honeſt Subject

Subject should have of the Indignity offer'd to his Sovereign, and the Mischief that might befall that County and Kingdom by this rebellious Act, and was forward to exprefs (as most of the Gentlemen of that County were) a Desire to repair to his Majesty, and to prevent the Inconveniencies which were otherwise like to follow.

HE had in the Town of *Hull* a Son-in-law, one *Fooks*, who was a Lieutenant of a Foot Company in that Garrison, whom he supposed (being only drawn in with the Train-bands) not maliciously engaged in the Purpose of Treason, and therefore as well to preserve a Man, who was so near to him, innocent, as for other Respects to his King and Country, he sent for him to come to him to his House, which the other (there being then no Intercourse hindred on either Side) did, and upon Discourse fully sensible of the Unlawfulness of the Act, which had been done, and willing to do any Thing for the King's Service; declar'd, That the *Thursday* Night following he should have the Guard at the *North* Gate, and that if an Alarm was given at another Gate called *Hessell-Gate*, he would let those in who came from the King; Mr. *Beckwith* promised, if he would perform this, he should have a very good Reward, and that if he could convert his Captain, one *Lowanger* (a *Dutch*-man) to joyn with him, he should likewise be very liberally rewarded. This is all that was alledg'd against Mr. *Beckwith*,

as appears by Sir *John Hotham's* Letter of the whole Information to Mr. *Pim*, enter'd in the Journal-Book of the House of Commons, and Printed by their Order.

FOOKES (as soon as he return'd to *Hull*) discover'd all to Sir *John Hotham*, and he deriv'd it to the House of Commons, as is said, and they upon this Evidence sent their Sergeant at Arms, or his Messenger, to apprehend *Beckwith* as a Delinquent, who upon Notice of the Treachery of his Son-in-law, durst not stay at his House, but remov'd to *York*.

THE Messenger, with the Confidence of his Masters, boldly came thither, and finding the Gentleman in the Court, and in the Garden where the King himself was walking, had the Presumption to serve the Warrant upon him, and to claim him as his Prisoner; it was indeed a great Wonder that the Messenger was not severely handled, but the Reverence to the King's Person preserved him, who bore no Reverence to it; and his Majesty being inform'd what had hapned, call'd for the Fellow, and having seen his Warrant, bid him return to those that sent him, and forbear committing the like Insolence, lest he fared worse; this was the beating their Messenger, and this the Protection Mr. *Beckwith* had; nor was there ever any *Posse Comitatus* raised, the High Sheriff daily waiting on his Majesty, and observing the Orders he receiv'd from him, according to the Duty of his Office.

W H A T-

W H A T E V E R this Offence had been, it was never known (before this Parliament) that the Messenger of either House ever presumed to serve a *Warrant* within the King's Court, much less in his Presence, which whilst Loyalty and Duty were in Reputation, was held too sacred for such Presumptions; the Law confessing such Priviledges and Exemptions to be due to those Places, *That the Lord cannot seize his Villain in the King's Presence, because the Presence of the King is a Sanctuary unto him*, says my Lord Dyer.

F O R the Matter it self, sure there is no Man that will avow himself to be so much out his Wits, as to say, that the King should have suffered Mr. *Beckwith* to be carried to *Westminster* as a Delinquent for doing the Part of a good Subject; and to be tried by those, who owned the Treason that was committed; nor can there be one Person named whom they sent for as a Delinquent, and the King protected, except those who had been a Year together attending upon them and demanding Justice; or those against whom nothing was objected, but that they waited on and attended his Majesty: For the Traytors and Felons, they were only to be found within their own Verge; and protected by their own Priviledges.

V E R Y few Lines will serve here to take Notice of the Difference between the King's Usage of their Messengers, and their Usage of the King's; their Messenger sent by them on

*Daniel
Kniveton.*

an unlawful Imployment to apprehend a Person they had no Power to send for, and for a Crime of which (if he had been guilty) they had no Cognizance, and executing their Commands in an unlawful Manner, and in a Place where he ought not to have done it, tho' the Command had been just, was by the King fairly dismissed without so much as Imprisonment or Restraint: The King's Messenger, sent by his Majesty with a Legal Writ to *London*, for the adjournment of the Term which is absolutely in the King's Power to do, and can be regularly done no other Way, for performing his Duty in this Service, according to his Oath, and for not doing whereof he had been punishable, and justly forfeited his Place, without any other Crime objected to him, was *taken, imprisoned, tryed at a Court of War, by them condemned to be hanged, and was executed accordingly*: That Blood will cry aloud.

BUT they say, *with those Guards, Cannon, and Arms from beyond Sea, the King attempted to force Hull in a Hostile Manner, and that within few Days after that Solemn Protestation at York.*

WHAT the Protestation was, is before set down, and his Majesty's published Resolution in this Point before that Protestation, nor did his Majesty ever conceal his *Purpose* in this or other Cases of that Nature, or disguised his purpose with any specious Promises or Pretences,

ces, but plainly told them, and the World, what they were to expect at his Hands.

TO their Expostulatory and Menacing Petition delivered to his Majesty at his first coming to York, on the 26th of March, the King in his Answer used these Words, *As we have not, nor shall refuse any Way agreeable to Justice or Honour, which shall be offered to us for the begetting a right Understanding between us, so we are resolved that no Straits or Necessities (to which we may be driven) shall ever compel us to do that which the Reason and Understanding that God hath given us, and our Honour and Interest, with which God hath trusted us for the good of our Posterity and Kingdoms, shall render unpleasant and grievous to to us.*

Ex. Col.
p. 128.

IN this second Message concerning Hull, the second Day after the Gates were shut against him, his Majesty uses these Words, *If we are brought into a Condition so much worse than any of our Subjects, that whilst you all enjoy your Privileges, and may not have your Possessions disturbed or your Titles questioned, we only may be spoiled, thrown out of our Towns, and our Goods taken from us, 'tis Time to examine how we have lost those Privileges, and to try all possible Ways, by the Help of God, the Law of the Land, and the Affection of our good Subjects, to recover them and vindicate our self from those Injuries.*

Ex. Col.
p. 156.

IN his Reply to their Answer concerning Sir John Hotham, presented to him on the 9th of May, his Majesty told them, that he expected

Ex. Col.
p. 192.

pected that they would not put the Militia in Execution, untill they could shew him by what Law they had Authority to do the same without his Consent; or if they did, he was confident that he should find much more obedience according to Law, than they against Law.

Ex. Col.
p. 380.

LASTLY, in his Answer to a Declaration of the 21st of June, 1642, (about a fortnight before his going towards Hull with his Guards) his Majesty told them plainly, *That the keeping him out of Hull by Sir John Hotham, was an Act of High Treason against him, and the taking away his Magazine and Mmunition from him, was an Act of Violence upon him (by what Hands, or by whose Directions soever it was done) and in both Cases by the help of God and the Law he would have Justice, or lose his Life in the requiring it; so that certainly the King never concealed or dissembled his Purposes, and accordingly he did indeed toward the middle of July go with his Guards to Beverly, having some Reason to believe, that Sir John Hotham had repented himself of the Crime he had committed, and would have repaired it as far as he had been able, of which failing (to his own miserable Destruction) without attempting to force it his Majesty again returned to York.*

They have not observ'd their Professions to the King, nor kept their Promises to the People.

HAVING made it now plainly appear how falsely and groundlessly his Majesty is reproached with the least Tergiversation or swerving from his Promises or Professions (which no Prince ever more precisely and religiously observed,) it will be

be but a little expence of time, again to examine how punctual these Conscientious Reprehenders of their Sovereign have been in the Observation of what they have sworn or said.

IN the first Remonstrance of the House of Commons of the State of the Kingdom they declare, *that it is far from their Purpose or Desire to let loose the Golden Reins of Discipline and Government in the Church, to have private Persons, or particular Congregations to take up what Form of Divine Service they please; for (they said) they held it requisite that there should be throughout the whole Realm, a Conformity to that Order which the Laws enjoyn.* Ex. Col. pag. 19.

IN their Declaration of the 19th of May, speaking of the Bill for the Continuance of this Parliament, they say, *We are resolved, the Gracious Favour his Majesty expressed in that Bill, and the Advantage and Security which thereby we have from being dissolved, shall not encourage us to do any Thing, which otherwise had not been fit to have been done.* Ex. mol. P. 203.

IN the Conclusion of their Declaration of the 26th of May, 1642. apprehending very justly that their Expressions there would beget at least a great Suspicion of their Loyalty, they say, *They doubt not but it shall in the End appear to all the World, that their Endeavours have been most hearty and sincere for the Maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, the King's just Prerogatives, the Laws and Liberties of the Land, and the Priviledges of Parliament, in which Endeavours,* Ex. Col. P. 281.

vours, by the Grace of God, they would still persist though they should perish in the Work.

Ex. Col.
p. 376.

IN their Declaration of the 14 of June, 1642. the Lords and Commons do declare, *That the Design of those Propositions (for Plate and Money) is to maintain the Protestant Religion, the King's Authority and Person in his Royal Dignity, the free Course of Justice, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and Priviledges of Parliament.*

Ex. Col.
p. 340.

As they have observed these and other their Professions to the King and the Publick, so they have as well kept their Promises to the People; in their Propositions of the 10th of June, 1642. for bringing in Money or Plate, the Lords and Commons do declare, *That no Mans Affection shall be measured according to the proportion of his Offer, so that he express his good Will to the Service in any proportion whatsoever; the first Design was to involve as many as they could in the Guilt, how small soever the supply was; but on the 29th of November following, the same Lords and Commons appointed six Persons, who, or any four of them, should have Power to assess all such Persons as were of Ability, and had not contributed, and all such as had contributed yet, not according to their Ability, to pay such sum or sums of Money, according to their Estates, as the Assessors or any four of them should think fit and Reasonable, so as the same exceeded not the twentieth part of their Estates.*

Ex. Cl.
p. 765.

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INFINITE Examples of this Kind may be produc'd, which are the less Necessary, because whosoever will take the Pains to read their own Declarations, and Ordinances, *shall not be able to find one Protestation or Profession made by them to God Almighty in the Matter of Religion, or to the King in Point of Duty and Obedience, or one Promise to the People in Matter of Liberty, Law, and Justice, so near pursued by them, as that they have ever done one composed Act, in Order to the Performance of either of them;* which very true Assertion shall conclude this Answer to that Reproach of his Majesty's not having made good his Protestations.

XXI. THE next Charge is, *That his Ma-* The 21st
Charge.
jesty proclaim'd them Traytors and Rebels, setting up his Standard against the Parliament, which never any King of England (they say) did before himself.

HIS Majesty never did, nor could proclaim this Parliament Traytors, he well knew (besides his own being the Head of it) that *four Parts of five* of the House of Peers were never Present at any of those Traytorous Conclusions, and that above a *major Part* of the House of Commons was *always Absent*, and that of those who were present, there were many, who still opposed or dissented from every unlawful Act, and therefore it were very strange, if all those innocent Men of whom the Parliament consisted as well as of the rest, should have been proclaim'd Rebels

Ex. Col.
P. 376.

bels and Traytors for the Acts of a few seditious Persons, who were upon all Occasions named; and if the Parliament were ever proclaim'd Traytors, it was by them only who presumptuously shelter'd their rebellious Acts, under that venerable Name, and who declar'd, that *whatsoever Violence should be used either against those, who exercise the Militia, or against Hull, they could not but believe it as done against the Parliament.* They should have named one Person proclaim'd Rebel or Traytor by the King, who is not adjudg'd to be such by the Law.

THE King never proclaim'd Sir *John Hotham* Traytor (tho' it may be he was guilty of many treasonable Acts before) till he shut the Gates of *Hull* against him, and with armed Men kept his Majesty from thence, and besides the concurrent Testimony of all Judgments at Law, it appears and is determin'd by the Lord Chief Justice *Coke* (publish'd by the House of Commons this Parliament) in his Chapter of High Treason, *That if any with Strength and Weapons Invasive and Defensive, doth hold and defend a Castle or Fort against the King and his Power, this is levying of War against the King, within the Statute of the 25th Year of Edw. III.*

THE King proclaim'd not those Rebels or Traytors, who Voted, That they would raise an Army, and that the Earl of *Essex* should be General of that Army (whatever he might have done) nor the Earl of *Essex* himself a Traytor
upon

upon those Votes, until he had accepted that Title and Command of *Captain General*, and in that Quality appear'd amongst the Soldiers, *animating and encouraging them in their traytorous and rebellious Designs*, as appears by his Majesty's Proclamation of the 9th of *August*, 1642. by which he was first proclaim'd Traytor: And there was no other Way to clear the Earl of *Essex* from being guilty of Treason by that Act of his, within the exprefs Words of the second Chapter of the 25th Year of King *Edward III.* but by declaring, *That by levying War against our Lord the King in his Realm* (which in that Statute is declar'd to be High Treason) *is meant, levying War against the Parliament*, and yet Mr. *St. John* observ'd in his Argument against the Earl of *Strafford*, printed by Order, that the Word KING in that Statute must be understood of the King's natural Person, for that Person can only die, have a Wife, have a Son, and be imprison'd.

THE Lord Chief Justice *Coke* in his Commentary upon that Statute, saith, *If any levy War to expulse Strangers, to deliver Men out of Prisons, to remove Counsellors, or against any Statute, or to any other End, pretending Reformation, of their own Head, without any Warrant, this is levying War against the King, because they take upon them Royal Authority, which is against the King; and that there may be no Scruple, by that Expression without Warrant; the same Author says, in the same Place,* 3 Part.
Instit. fol.
9.
and

and but few Lines preceding, *That no Subject can levy War within the Realm without Authority from the King, for to him it only belongeth.*

- Id. fol. 12.** *Preparation by some overt Act to depose the King, or to take the King by Force and strong Hand, and to imprison him, until he hath yielded to certain Demands, that is a sufficient overt Act to prove the compassing and Imagination of the Death of the King, for this is upon the Matter to make the King a Subject, and to dispoil him of his Kingly Office of Royal Government, as is concluded by the same reverend Author, and likewise, that to rise to alter Religion establish'd within the Kingdom, or Laws, is Treason.*

Fol. 7. *THESE Declarers cannot name one Person proclaim'd a Rebel or Traytor by the King, who was not confessedly guilty of, at least, one of these Particulars; and being so, the King did no more than by the Law he ought to do; and Mr. St. John acknowledg'd in his Argument against the Earl of Strafford, That he that levies War against the Person of the King, doth necessarily compass his Death; and likewise, that it is a War against the King, when intended for the Alteration of the Laws or Government in any Part of them, or to destroy any of the great Officers of the Kingdom.*

FOR the setting up the Standard, it was not till those Persons, who bearing an inward Hatred and Malice against his Majesty's Person and Government, had raised an Army, and were then traytorously and rebelliously marching

ing in Battle-array against his Majesty, their Liege Lord and Sovereign, as appears by his Majesty's Proclamation of the 12th of *August*, 1642. in which he declar'd his Purpose to erect his Royal Standard ; and after they had, with an Army, besieg'd his Majesty's antient standing Garrison of *Portsmouth*, and requir'd the same (in which the King's Governour was) to be deliver'd to the Parliament ; and after they had sent an Army of Horse, Foot, and Cannon, under the Command of the Earl of *Bedford*, into the *West*, to apprehend the Marquis of *Hertford*, who was there in a peaceable Manner without any Force, till he was compell'd to raise the same for his Defence, and to preserve the Peace of those Counties, invaded by an Army ; and then when his Majesty was compell'd for those Reasons to erect his Standard, with what Tendernefs he did it towards the two Houses of Parliament, cannot better appear than by his own Words, in his Declaration publish'd the same Day on which that Proclamation was issued out, which are these, *What our Opinion* Ex. Col. and *Resolution is concerning Parliaments, we have* P. 561. *fully expressed in our Declarations ; we have said, and will still say, they are so essential a Part of the Constitution of this Kingdom, that we can attain to no Happiness without them, nor will we ever make the least Attempt (in our Thought) against them ; we well know that our Self, and our two Houses make up the Parliament, and that we are like Hippocrates Twins, we must*
M laugh

laugh and cry, live and die together; that no Man can be a Friend to the one, and an Enemy to the other; the Injustice, Injury, and Violence offer'd to Parliaments, is that which we principally complain of; and we again assure all our good Subjects, in the Presence of Almighty God, that all the Acts passed by us this Parliament, shall be equally observed by us, as we desire those to be which do most concern our Rights: Our Quarrel is not against the Parliament, but against particular Men, who first made the Wounds, and will not suffer them to be healed, but make them deeper and wider by contriving, fostering, and fomenting Mistakes and Jealousies betwixt Body and Head, Us and the two Houses, whom we name, and are ready to prove them Guilty of High Treason, &c. And then his Majesty names the Persons.

THIS was the King's Carriage towards, and Mention of the Parliament; very different from theirs, who are now possess'd of the Sovereign Power; the Army, who in their Remonstrance of the 23d of June last, use these Words, *We are in this Case forced (to our great Grief of Heart) thus plainly to assert the present Evil and Mischief, together with the future worse Consequences of the Things lately done, even in the Parliament itself, which are too evident and visible to all, and so in their proper Colours to lay the same at the Parliament Doors, until the Parliament shall be pleas'd, either of themselves to take Notice and rid the House of those, who*
have

have any way misinform'd, deluded, surpriz'd, or otherwise abused the Parliament to the passing such foul Things there, or shall open to us and others some Way, how we may, &c. which would not have been mention'd here, if they had been only the extravagant Act and Words of the Army, but they are since justify'd, and made the Words of the two Houses by their declaring in their late Declaration of the 4th of March, in Answer to the Papers of the Scots Commissioners, That if there be any unsound Principles in Relation to Religion, or the State in some of the Army, as in such a Body there usually are some extravagant Humours, they are very injuriously charged upon the whole Army, whereof the governing Part hath been very careful to suppress, and keep down all such peccant Humours, and have hitherto always approved themselves very constant and faithful to the true Interest of both Kingdoms, and the Cause wherein they have engag'd, and the Persons that have engag'd therein; So that this Remonstrance, being the Act of the General, Lieutenant-General, and the whole Council of War, (which is sure the governing Part) it is by this Declaration fully vindicated to be the Sense of the two Houses.

XXII. THE setting up a mock Parliament The 22d.
at Oxford to oppose and protest against the Par- Charge.
liament of England, which his Majesty and both
Houses had continued by Act of Parliament, is

in the next Place objected against his Majesty.

T H E R E was neither real nor mock Parliament set up at *Oxford*, but when the King found that most of the Members of either House, were driven from *Westminster* by Force, as his Majesty had been, and yet that the Authority and Reputation of Parliament was apply'd for the Justification of all the rebellious Acts which were done, even to the invitation of Foreign Power to invade the Kingdom; as well for the Satisfaction of his People, that they might know how many of the true Members of Parliament abhorred the Acts done by that pretended Authority; as for his own Information, his Majesty by his Proclamation of the 22d of *December*, in the Year, 1643. invited all the Members of both Houses, who had been driven, or (being conscious of their want of freedom) had withdrawn from *Westminster*, to assemble at *Oxford* upon the 22d of *January* following, when (he said) *all his good Subjects should see how willing he was to receive Advice for the Religion, Laws, and Safety of the Kingdom, from those whom they had trusted, though he could not receive it in the Place where he had appointed*: Upon which Summons and Invitation by his Majesty, eight and forty Peers attended his Majesty, there being, at least, twenty others employ'd in his Armies, and in the several Counties, whose attendance was dispensed with, and nine others in the Parts beyond the Seas, with his Majesty's leave;

leave; and of the House of Commons above one Hundred and forty, there being likewise absent in the Armies near thirty more, who could not be conveniently present at *Oxford*.

WHEN his Majesty found the Appearance so great, and so much superior in Number, as well as Quality, to those at *Westminster*, he hoped it would prove a good Expedient to compose the Minds of the other to a due Consideration of the Misery, into which they had brought their Country; and referred it to them to propose any Advice, which might produce so good an effect; what Addresses and Overtures were then made by them, and afterwards by his Majesty to persuade them to enter upon any Treaty of Peace, and with what Contempt and Scorn the same was rejected, will be too long to insert here, and is sufficiently known to the World; thereupon this Body of Lords and Commons publish'd a Declaration to the Kingdom, at large setting forth the particular Acts of Violence, by which they had been driven from *Westminster*, and by which the freedom of Parliament was taken away, and then declared how much they abhor'd the undutiful and rebellious Acts, which were countenanc'd by those who staid there, and declar'd their own Submission and Allegiance to his Majesty; and in the End concluded, *That as at no Time either or both Houses of Parliament can, by any Orders or Ordinances, impose upon the People without the King's Consent, so by Reason of the Want of*

Freedom and Security for all the Members of the Parliament to meet at Westminster, and there to sit, speak, and vote with Freedom and Safety, all the Actions, Votes, Orders, Declarations and pretended Ordinances made by those Members who remain still at Westminster, were void and of none effect; yet they said they were far from attempting the Dissolution of the Parliament, or the Violation of any Act made and confirm'd by his Majesty, but it was their Grief in the behalf of the whole Kingdom, that since the Parliament was not dissolved, the Power thereof should, by the Treason and Violence of those Men, be so far suspended, that the Kingdom should be without the Fruit and Benefit of a Parliament, which could not be reduc'd to any Action, or Authority, till the Liberty and Freedom due to the Members should be restor'd and admitted; which Declaration hath not only ever receiv'd any Answer, but, with great Care, hath not been suffer'd to be printed in the last Collection of Orders and Declarations, where the other Proceedings at Oxford of that Time are set forth, that the People may lose that Evidence against them, which can never be answer'd or evaded.

THIS was that Assembly, which these Declarers call the Mock Parliament at Oxford, and these the Proceedings of it; of the Justice and Regularity whereof, if there could have been heretofore any Doubt made, the same is lately vindicated sufficiently by both Houses; for if those Lords and Commons at Oxford
might

might not justifiably absent themselves from *Westminster*, where their Safety and Freedom was taken from them; by what Right or Authority could a smaller Number withdraw themselves in *July* last upon the same Pretence? And if that Body of Lords and Commons, regularly convened by his Majesty's Authority, to *Oxford*, who had first called them together at *Westminster*, might not declare the Acts made by those who remain'd at *Westminster*, void, and of none Effect, because they might not attend there and Vote with Freedom and Safety; by what imaginable Authority could the Speaker of the House of Commons, (who hath no more Freedom or Power to make any such Declaration, than every single Member of the House, declare, *That such and such Votes passed in the House, were void and null? And that the Omission of a Circumstance, or some Formality in the Adjournment of the Houses, could not be any Prejudice to the future Meetings and Proceedings of Parliament, when it might meet and sit again as a free Parliament, as he did by his own single Declaration in July last: Whereupon that powerful Umpire (the Army) very frankly declar'd, That all such Members of either House of Parliament, as were already with the Army, for the Security of their Persons, and were forced to absent themselves from Westminster, that they should hold and esteem them, as Persons in whom the Publick Trust of the Kingdom was still remaining, tho' they could not, for the present, sit as a Par-*

Decl. and Papers of the Army, P. 127.

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liament with Freedom and Safety at Westminster, and by whose Advice and Counsels, they desir'd to govern themselves in the managing those weighty Affairs; and to that End, invited them to make their repair to the Army, and said, they held themselves bound to own that honourable Act of the Speaker of the House of Commons, who had actually withdrawn himself, and they engag'd to use their utmost and speedy Endeavour, that he and those Members of either House, that were then inforced any Way from Westminster, might with Freedom and Security sit there, and again discharge their Trust, as a Free and Legal Parliament; and in the mean Time, they did declare against that late Choice of a new Speaker by some Gentlemen at Westminster, as contrary to all Right, Reason, Law and Custom, and professed themselves to be most clearly satisfy'd in all their Judgments, and were confident the Kingdom would therein concur with them; that as Things then stood, there was no Free nor Legal Parliament sitting, being through the foresaid Violence at present suspended; and that the Orders, Votes, or Resolutions forced from the Houses on Monday the 26th of July last, as also all such, as should pass in that Assembly of some few Lords and Gentlemen at Westminster, under what Pretence and Colour soever, were void and null, and ought not to be submitted to by the free-born Subjects of England.

IT is not deny'd, that the Presentation of those humble Desires of the young Men and Apprentices

Apprentices of the City of London to both Houses on the 26th of July last, by which they compell'd them to Reverse and Repeal two several Acts of both Houses passed but three Days before, was most destructive to the Privilege and Freedom of Parliament; and no Question the Speakers and Members of both Houses, had good Reason to withdraw and absent themselves upon that Violation; but it is affirmed, that the Freedom of Parliament was as much obstructed by several other Acts preceding, as it was on the 26th of July last; and that the Members of both Houses, who attended his Majesty at Oxford, had as great Reason to withdraw themselves, and, at least, as much Authority to declare their want of Freedom, as the Speaker and the others had then, or the Army to declare on their behalfs.

W H E N the Tumults brought down by *Manswaring* and *Ven*, compelled the House of Peers to pass the Act of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford, to which the fifth Part of the Peers never consented, (the rest being driven from thence) and afterwards so absolutely forced his Majesty to sign it, that it cannot be call'd his Act, his Hand being held and guided by those who kept Daggers at his Breast, and so his Royal Name affix'd by them; and it being told him at his Council-Board, by those who were sworn to defend him from such Violence, that if it were not done in that Instant, there would be no Safety for himself, his Royal Consort,

A full Relation of the first Tumults.

sort, or his Progeny, the Rabble having at that Time, besieg'd his Court: The Freedom of Parliament was no less invaded, than it was on the 26th of July last.

Declar.
Lords and
Commons,
Oxf.f.8,9.

W H E N the same Captain Ven, then a Member of the House of Commons (in November and December, 1642.) sent Notes in Writing under his Hand into the City, *That the People should come down to Westminster, for that the better Part of the House was like to be over-power'd by the worser Part, whereupon at that Time, and some Days after, Multitudes of the meanest sort of People, with Weapons not agreeing with their Condition, or Custom, in a Manner contrary and destructive to the Privilege of Parliament, filled up the Way between both Houses, offering Injuries both by Words and Actions too, and laying violent Hands upon several Members, proclaiming the Names of several of the Peers, as Evil and Rotten-hearted Lords, crying many Hours together against the Establish'd Laws in a most tumultuous and menacing Way; and when this Act was complain'd of to the House of Commons, and Witnesses offer'd to prove Captain Ven Guilty of it; and a Fellow who had assaulted and reproach'd a Member of the House of Commons in those Tumults, coming again to that Bar with a Petition, shew'd and complain'd of to that House; and yet in neither of these Cases, Justice, or so much as an Examination could be obtain'd, and when these Proceedings were so much countenanc'd by particular Members, that*
when

when the House of Peers complain'd of them as derogatory to the Freedom as well as Dignity of Parliament; Mr. Pim said, God forbid we should dishearten our Friends, who came to assist us: No doubt the Freedom and Safety of the Parliament, was no less in Danger and violated, than it was on the 26th of July last.

WHEN in January, 1642. (after the first Proposition concerning the *Militia* was brought to the House of Peers, and by them rejected) a Petition was brought in a tumultuous Manner to the House of Lords, in the Name of the Inhabitants of *Hertford-shire*, desiring Liberty to protest against all those as Enemies to the Publick, who refused to joyn with the Honourable Lords, whose Endeavours were for the Publick Good, and with the House of Commons for the putting the Kingdom into a Posture of Safety under the Command of such Persons, as the Parliament should appoint; when other Petitions of that Nature, and in the same Manner deliver'd, were presented to the House, concluding that they should be, in Duty, oblig'd to maintain their Lordships, so far as they should be united with the House of Commons in their just and pious Proceedings; when, at the same Time, a Citizen accompany'd with many others, said at the Bar of the House of Commons, without reprehension, That they heard there were Lords, who refus'd to consent and concur with them, and that they would gladly know their Names.

WHEN

Ib. p. 12.

W H E N that signal Petition of many Thousand poor People was deliver'd to the House of Commons, *which took Notice of a Malignant Faction, that made abortive all their good Motions, and professed, that unless some speedy Remedy were taken for the removing all such Obstructions, as hinder'd the happy Progress of their great Endeavours, the Petitioners would not rest in Quietness, but should be forc'd to lay hold on the next Remedy that was at Hand, to remove the Disturbers of the Peace;* and when that monstrous Petition was carried up to the House of Peers, by an Eminent Member of the Commons, as an Argument to them to concur with the Commons in the Matter of the *Militia*; and that Member desir'd, That if the House of Commons was not assented to in that Point, those Lords who were willing to concur, *would find some Means to make themselves known, that it might be known, who were against them, and they might make it known to those who sent them:* Upon which Petition so strangely framed, countenanced, and seconded, many Lords thereupon withdrawing themselves, in pure Fear of their Lives, the Vote in Order to the *Militia* twice before rejected, was then passed: The Freedom of Parliament was as absolutely invaded, as it was on the 26th of *July* last.

I N *August*, 1643. the House of Commons agreed, after a long and solemn Debate to joyn with the Lords in sending Propositions of Peace to the King; the next Day printed Papers

pers were scatter'd in the Streets, and fixed upon publick Places both in the City, and the Suburbs, *requiring all Persons well-affected, to rise as one Man, and to come to the House of Commons next Morning, for that 20000 Irish Rebels were landed; which Direction and Information was that Day likewise given in Pulpits by their seditious Preachers; and in some of those Papers it was subscrib'd, that the Malignant Party had over-voted the Good, and if not prevented, there would be Peace; a Common-Council was called late at Night, though Sunday, and a Petition there framed against Peace, which was the next Morning brought to the House, countenanced by Alderman Pennington, who (being then Lord Mayor of London) that Day came to the House of Commons, attended with a great Multitude of mean Persons, who used Threats, Menaces, and Reproaches to the Members of both Houses; their Petition took Notice of Propositions passed by the Lords for Peace, which, (if allow'd) would be destructive to Religion, Laws, and Liberties, and therefore desir'd an Ordinance, according to the Tenour of an Act of their Common Council the Night before: Thanks were given by the Commons, whilst the Lords complained of the Tumults, and desir'd a Concurrence to suppress them, and to prevent the like, many of the People telling the Members of both Houses, that if they had not a good Answer, they would be there the next Day, with double*
the

the Number; by these Threats, and this Violence, the Propositions formerly received were rejected, and all Thoughts of Peace laid aside, and then surely the Freedom of Parliament was as much taken away, as on the 26th of July last.

IN a Word, when the Members of both Houses were compelled to take that Protestation, *to live and die with the Earl of Essex*, and some imprisoned and expelled for refusing to take it; when they were forced to take that sacred Vow and Covenant of the 6th of June, 1643. by which they swore, *that they would to their Power assist the Forces raised and continued by both Houses of Parliament against the Forces raised by the KING*; when they were compelled to take the last solemn League and Covenant, that *Oath Corban*, by which they conceive themselves absolved from all Obligations Divine and Humane; as their Predecessours (the *Jews*) thought they were discharged by that (though they had bound themselves) not to help or relieve their Parents; and lastly, when the Army marched to *London* in the Beginning of *August* last, in Favour of the Speakers and those Members, who had resorted to them, and brought them back to the Houses, and drove away some, and caused others of the Members of a contrary Faction to be imprisoned, and expelled the Houses, the Liberty and Freedom of Parliament was no less violated and invaded, than it was on the 26th of July last.

U P O N

UPON these Reasons, and for want of the Freedom so many several Ways taken from them, those Lords and Commons who attended his Majesty at *Oxford*, had withdrawn themselves from *Westminster*, and might then, as truly and more regularly have said, what the Army since with Approbation and Thanks have said, on the 22^d of *June* last, *That the Freedom of this Parliament is no better than that those Members, who shall according to their Consciences endeavour to prevent a War, and act contrary to their Ways; who (for their own Preservation) intend it, they must do it with the Hazard of their Lives: Which being a good Reason for those lately to go to St. Albans or Hounslow-heath, cannot be thought less justifiable for the other to go to Oxford.*

Decl. and
Papers of
the Army,
P. 53.

SINCE this Objection of calling the Members of Parliament to *Oxford* is not of Weight enough to give any Advantage against his Majesty to his Enemies, they endeavour to make their Entertainment and Usage there very reproachful with his Friends, and would persuade them to believe themselves derided in that Expression of the Kings in a Letter to the Queen, where he calls them a *Mungrel Parliament*, by which they infer, what Reward his own Party must expect, when they have done their utmost to shipwreck their Faith and Conscience to his Will and Tyranny.

IN-

INDEED, they who *shipwrack their Faith and Conscience*, have no Reason to expect Reward from the King, but those Lords and Gentlemen who attended his Majesty in that Convention well know, that never King receiv'd Advice from his Parliament with more Grace and Candor, than his Majesty did from them; and their Consciences are too good to think themselves concern'd in that Expression, if his Majesty had not himself taken the Pains to declare to what Party it related; besides, it is well known, that some who appear'd there with great Professions of Loyalty, were but Spies, and shortly after betray'd his Majesty's Service, as Sir John Price and others in *Wales*, and some since have alledg'd in the House of Commons, or before the Committee for their Defence, to the Charge of being at *Oxford* at that Assembly, *That they did the Parliament more Service there, than they could have done at Westminster*: So that the KING had great Reason to think he had many Mungrels there.

The 23d.
and last
Charge.

XXIII. THE last Charge is the making a *Pacification in Ireland*; and since that a Peace; and granting a Commission to bring over *ten Thousand Irish to subdue the Parliament, and the rebellious City of London, and the Conditions of that Peace.*

THAT loud Clamour against the Cessation in *Ireland*, was so fully and clearly answer'd by the King's Commissioners at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*,

bridge, that there can no Scruple remain with any, who have taken the Pains to read the Transactions in that Treaty; it plainly appears, that the King could not be induc'd to consent to that Cessation, till it was evident that his Protestant Subjects in that Kingdom could not be any other Way preserv'd; the Lords Justices and Council of that Kingdom, signify'd to the Speaker of the House of Commons, by their Letter of the 4th of April (which was above six Months before the Cessation) *That his Majesty's Army and good Subjects there, were in Danger to be devour'd for want of needful Supplies out of England, and that his Majesty's Forces were of Necessity sent abroad, to try what might be done for sustaining them in the Country, to keep them alive till Supplies should get to them, but that Design failing them, those, their Hopes were converted into Astonishment, to behold the Miseries of the Officers and Soldiers for want of all Things, and all those Wants made insupportable in the want of Food, and divers Commanders and Officers declaring they had little Hopes to be supply'd by the Parliament, pressed with so great Importunity to be permitted to depart the Kingdom, as that it would be extream Difficult to keep them there; and in another Part of that Letter, they express'd, that they were expelling thence all Strangers, and must instantly send away for England Thousands of poor dispoyl'd English, whose very eating was then insupportable to that Place, that their Confusions would not admit the writing of many*

*Relat. of
the Treaty,
p. 141.*

more Letters, if any, (for they had written divers others, expressing their great Necessities:) And to the End his Majesty and the English Nation, might not irrecoverably and unavoidably suffer, they did desire, that then, (though it were almost at the Point to be too late) Supplies of Victuals and Ammunition in present, might be hasten'd thither to keep Life, until the rest might follow, there being no Victuals in the Store, nor a hundred Barrels of Powder (a small Proportion to defend a Kingdom) left in the Store, when the Out-Garrisons were suppli'd, and that Remainder, according to the usual Necessary Expence, besides extraordinary Accidents, would not last above a Month; and in that Letter, they sent a Paper sign'd by fundry Officers of the Army deliver'd to them, as they were ready to sign that Dispatch, and by them apprehended to threaten imminent Danger; which mentioned, That they were brought to that great Exigent, that they were ready to rob and spoil one another, that their Wants began to make them desperate: That if the Lords Justices and Council there, did not find a speedy Way for their Preservation, they did desire that they might have Leave to go away; That if that were not granted, they must have recourse to the Law of Nature, which teacheth all Men to preserve themselves.

THE two Houses, who had undertaken to carry on that War, and receiv'd all the Money rais'd for that Service, neglecting still to send Supplies thither; the Lords Justices, and Council

cil, by their Letters about the middle of May, advertised the King, *That they had no Victuals, Clothes, or other Provisions, no Money to provide them of any Thing they want; no Arms, not above forty Barrels of Powder; no Strength of serviceable Horse; no visible Means by Sea or Land, of being able to preserve that Kingdom.* And by others of the 4th of July, *That his Armies would be forced, through Wants, to disband or depart the Kingdom, and that there would be nothing to be expected there, but the instant Loss of the Kingdom, and the Destruction of the Remnant of his good Subjects yet left there.*

Col. Ord.
2 vol.
P. 344.

THIS was the Condition of that miserable Kingdom, to whose Assistance his Majesty was in no Degree (of himself) able to contribute; and his Recommendation and Interposition to the two Houses, whom he had trusted, was so much contemned, that when upon their Order to issue out, at one Time, *one hundred thousand pounds* of the Monies paid for Ireland, to the Supply of the Forces under the Earl of Essex, (albeit it was Enacted by the Law, upon which those Monies were raised, *That no Part of it should be employ'd to any other Purpose than the reducing the Rebels of Ireland.*) His Majesty, by a special Message, advis'd and requir'd them to retract that Order, and to dispose the Monies the right Way, the Necessities of Ireland being then passionately represented by those upon the Place, they return'd no other Satisfaction or Answer to his Majesty, but a

Ex. Col.
p. 570.

Declaration, That those Directions given his Majesty for the retracting of that Order, was a high Breach of Privilege of Parliament.

WHEN his Majesty perceived that no Assistance was, or was like to be apply'd to them, and that the Enemy still increas'd in Strength and Power, he referred the Consideration and Provision for themselves, to those, whose Safeties and Livelyhoods were most immediately concerned, and who were the nearest Witnesses of the Distresses, and the best Judges, how they could be borne, or how they were like to be relieved; and so with the full Advice and Approbation of the Lords Justices and Council there, and concurrent Opinion of all the Chief Officers of the Army, that Cessation was made, by which only the Protestants in that Kingdom, and his Majesty's Interest there, could, at that Time have been preserved.

OF this Cessation, neither his Majesty's good Subjects in that or this Kingdom, have Reason to complain. Examine now the Peace, which, they say, was afterwards made, on such odious, shameful, and unworthy Conditions, that his Majesty himself blushed to own; or impart to his own Lieutenant the Earl of Ormond, but a private Commission was made to the Lord Herbert to manage it.

WHILST the King had any Hope of a tolerable Peace in This, or a probable Way of carrying on the War in That Kingdom, he never gave a Commission to conclude a Peace there;

there; and it plainly appears by the Relation of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, (to the Truth of which there hath not been the least Objection) the Acts of the Commissioners of both Sides being extant, that there was no Expedient proposed (though desired often on the King's Part) for the proceeding in that War, but that his Majesty would quit absolutely all his Regal Power in that Kingdom, and so put all his Subjects there (*English and Irish*) out of his Protection, into that of the two Houses of Parliament here, who, at the same Time were fighting for the same Supremacy in this, and who had, at the same Time, disposed a greater Power thereof to the *Scots*, than they reserved to themselves; it concerned the King then in Piety and Policy, in his Duty to God and Man, to endeavour to preserve that Kingdom by a Peace, which he could not reduce by a War, and to draw from thence such a Body and Number of his own Subjects, as might render him more considerable to those, who, having put off all natural Allegiance, and Reverence to his Majesty, looked only what Power and Strength, and not what Right he had left.

THE Peace that was concluded, was upon such Terms and Conditions, as were in that Conjunction of Time just and Honourable; and when it could not be continued without yielding to more shameful and less worthy Conditions, the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Maje-

ty's Lieutenant of that Kingdom, (who had the sole and intire Authority from his Majesty to conclude a Peace, and against whom all their Envy, and all their Malice, hath not been able to make the least Objection) best knowing his Master's Mind, chose rather to make no Peace, and to trust Providence with his Majesty's Rights than to consent to such Propositions; nor had the Lord *Herbert* ever any Commission to make a Peace there, but being a Person, whose Loyalty and Affection to his Service, the King had no Reason to suspect, and being of the same Religion with the Enemy, might have some influence upon them, was qualify'd with such a Testimony, as might give him the more Credit amongst them, to persuade them to Reason: His Restraint and Commitment was very real by the whole Council-Board there, though when it appeared that his Errors had proceeded from Unskilfulness and Unadvisedness, and not from Malice, he was afterwards enlarged by the same Power.

THE unnatural Conclusions and Inferences these Men make from what the King hath said or done, applying Actions done lately, to Words spoken seven Years before, cannot cast any Blemish upon the King's Religion, which shines with the same Lustre in him, as it did in the Primitive Martyrs; and even those Letters taken at *Nazeby*, (which no wise Rebel, or gallant Enemy would have publish'd) will, to Posterity, appear as great Monuments of his Zeal
to

to the true Protestant Religion, in those Straits in which he was driven by those who professed that Religion, as any Prince hath left, or have been left by any Prince since Christianity was embraced: And if that Religion should prosper with less Vigour, than it hath done, and the Christian and Pagan World have less Reverence towards it, than they have had, these Reformers may justly challenge to themselves, the Honour and Glory of that Declension, and triumph in the Reproaches they have brought upon the most Orthodox Church, that hath flourished in any Age since the Apostles Time.

THESE Charges and Reproaches upon the King, which have been now particularly examin'd and answer'd, and of which the World may judge, are aggravated by the King's so often refusing their Addresses for Peace; the Truth of which Suggestions (though, for Method sake, the Order of their Declaration hath been inverted) must be now considered, and all of that Kind, which is scattered and dis-jointed in the Declaration, shall, for the same Method sake, be gathered together and resolved; and in this Argument they seem to think, they are so much upon the advantage Ground, that they are rather to make an Apology to the World, for having so often made Addresses to their King, than for resolving to do so no more; that is, for enduring so long to be Subjects, than for resolving hereafter to be so no more.

The King's
several
Messages,
and their
Propositions
and Ad-
dresses for
Peace.

THE Truth is, they never yet made any one Address for Peace; only sometimes offer'd to receive his Crown, if his Majesty would give it up to them, without putting them to fight more for it, for other Sense or Interpretation, no Propositions yet ever sent to him can bear; and whereas they say, *they must not be so unthankful to God, as to forget they were never forced to any Treaty*, it is affirm'd, that there are not six Members, who concur in this Declaration, who ever gave their Consent to any Treaty, that hath yet been, but when they were forc'd by the major Part to consent to it, they were so unthankful to God for the Opportunity of restoring a blessed Peace to their Country, that they framed such Propositions, and clogged their Commissioners with such Instructions, as made any Agreement impossible.

P. 7.

THOUGH no Arithmetick, but their own can reckon those *Seven times*, in which they have made such Applications to the King, and tendred such Propositions, *that might Occasion the World to judge, they had not only yielded up their Wills and Affections, but their Reason also, and Judgment, for obtaining a true Peace and Accommodation*; yet it will be no hard Matter with Brevity to recollect the Overtures which have been made on both Sides, and thence it may best appear whether the King never yet offer'd any Thing fit for them to receive, or would accept of any Tender fit for them to make.

WHAT

W H A T Propositions were made by them to prevent the War, need not be remembered, who ever reads the *Nineteen* sent to him to *York*, will scarce be able to name one Sovereign Power, that was not there demanded from him; nor can they now make him less a King, than he should have been, if he had consented to those.

A F T E R his Standard was set up, and by that his Majesty had shewed that he would not tamely be stripped of his Royal Power without doing his best to defend it, he sent a Message before Blood was yet drawn from *Nottingham*, Ex. Col. to desire that some fit Persons might be inabled by P. 579. them, to treat with the like Number to be authorized by his Majesty, in such a Manner, and with such Freedom of Debate, as might best tend to that happy Conclusion, which all good Men desired, *The Peace of the Kingdom*; to which gracious Overture from his Majesty, the Answer was, that until the King called in his Proclamations and Declarations, and took down his Stan- Page 580. dard, they could give him no Answer.

A N D at the same Time published a Declaration to the Kingdom, that they would not lay down their Arms, untill the King should withdraw his Protection from all such Persons as had been voted by both Houses to be Delinquents, Ex. Col. or should be voted to be such, that their Estates might be disposed to the defraying of the Charges the Common-wealth had been put to; and who they meant by those Delinquents, they had in a former

former Declaration to the Inhabitants of Yorkshire expressed, *that all Persons should have Reparation out of the Estates of all such Persons in any part of the Kingdom whatsoever, who had withdrawn themselves to York, and should persist to serve the King, &c.* This was one of their Applications, in which they had yeilded up their Wills and Affections, and their Reason and Judgment for obtaining Peace.

Pag. 9.

THEY say, they have Cause to remember that *the King sometimes denied to receive their humble Petitions for Peace:* the which they had rather should be believed in gross, than trouble themselves with setting down the Time, and Manner when it was done; but out of their former Writings it is no hard Matter to guess what they mean: When the KING was at *Shrewsbury*, and the Earl of *Essex* at *Worcester* towards the end of *September, 1642.* the two Houses sent a Petition to their General, to be presented to his Majesty in some safe and honourable Way, in which Petition they most humbly besought his Majesty, *to withdraw his Person from his own Army, and to leave them to be suppressed by that Power, which they had sent against them, and that he would in Peace and Safety without his Forces return to his Parliament.* The Earl of *Essex* by Letter to the Earl of *Dorset*, who then attended his Majesty, intimated that he had a Petition from both Houses to be delivered to his Majesty, and for that Purpose desired a safe Conduct for those, who should

Ex. Col.
P. 632.

should be sent with it: The Earl of *Dorset* (by his Majesty's Command) returned Answer, *That as he had never refused to receive any Petition from his Houses of Parliament, so he should be ready to give such a Reception and Answer to this as should be fit, and that the Bringers of it should come and go with Safety, only he required that none of those Persons, whom he had particularly accused of High Treason (which at that Time were very few) should by Colour of that Petition be employed to his Majesty: This Answer was declared to be a Breach of Privilege, and so that Petition, which (as his Majesty says in his Answer to the Declaration of the 22^d of October)* Ex. Col. p. 699. *was fitter to be delivered after a Battle and Conquest of him, then in the Head of his Army, when it might seem somewhat in his Power whether he would be disposed or no, was never delivered to his Majesty, and this is the Petition which they now say he sometimes denied to receive.*

THEY say that when they desired him to appoint a place for a Committee of both Houses to attend his Majesty with Propositions for Peace, he named Windsor, promising to abide thereabouts till they came to him, but presently marched forward so near London, that he had almost surprized it, whilst he had so engaged himself for a Treaty.

THIS likewise refers to the Petition sent to his Majesty at Colebrooke; and all the Circumstances were fully answered by his Majesty in his

Ex. Col. his Declaration upon that Occasion, when this
 P. 745. Asperſion was firſt unreaſonably caſt upon him;
 It is true, after the Battle at *Edge-hill*, when
 they could no longer perſuade their Friends of
 the City, that the King's Forces were ſcatter-
 ed, and their Army in purſuit of him, but
 in ſtead thereof, they had Pregnant Evidence,
 that his Maſtey's Army was marching towards
 them, and was poſſeſſed of *Reading*, whilſt the
 Earl of *Effex* continued ſtill at or about *War-*
wick, on the 2d of *November*, they reſolved
 to ſend an Overture to his Maſtey concerning
 Peace; and though it muſt not be ſaid they
 were forced to that Addreſs, yet truly who e-
 ver reads that Petition which was brought to
 his Maſtey to *Colebrook*, will be of Opinion by
 the Stile of it, that they were fuller of Fear or
 of Duty than they were when they rejected his
 Maſtey's Offer from *Nottingham*, or than they
 were ten Days after, or ever ſince: That Pe-
 tition was answered with all imaginable Candor
 by his Maſtey; and *Windsor* choſen if they
 would remove their Garrifon out of it, for the
 Place of Treaty: But when the Meſſengers were
 returned, who made not the leaſt Mention of
 a Ceſſation, it appeared by ſure Intelligence that
 the Earl of *Effex*, who had the Night before
 brought his Army to or near *London*, after thoſe
 Meſſengers were diſpatched to his Maſtey, had
 drawn a great part of his Forces, and the *Lon-*
don Train-Bands towards his Maſtey, and
 ſent others to *Acton* on the one ſide, and
 King-

Kingston on the other ; so that there being likewise a Garrison at *Windsor*, if the King had staid at *Colebrooke* he had been insensibly hemmed in, and surrounded by the Enemy ; whereupon he took a sudden Resolution to advance to *Branford*, thereby to compel them to draw their Body together; and so making his Way through that Town with the defeat of a Regiment or two which made Resistance there, and thereby causing those at *Kingston* to remove, the King went to his own House at *Hampton Court*, and having there in vain expected the Commissioners from the Houses to treat, retired to *Reading*, where he staid, till he found they had given over all Thought of Treaty, and they sent him a new scornful Petition, *to return to his Parliament with his Royal, not his Martial Attendance.*

IN *January* following the Importunity of the City of *London*, and general Clamour of the People forced them to pretend an Inclination to Peace ; and so they sent Propositions to his Majesty, which though but 14 in number, contained the whole Matter of the former 19. with an Addition of some Bills ready passed the two Houses, to which his Royal Assent was demanded, one of which was for the Extirpation and Eradication of the whole Frame of Church-Government ; and another for the Confirming an Assembly of such Divines as they had chosen, to devise a new Government, which

which they were so much the fitter to be trusted with, because in the whole Number, (which consisted of above one Hundred, and might be increased as they thought fit) there were not above a dozen, who were not already declared Enemies to the Old, to the which, notwithstanding there were few of them who had not subscrib'd, and a Promise requir'd from his Majesty, *That he would give his Assent to all such Bills which the two Houses should hereafter present to him, upon Consultation with that Assembly.*

Col. Ord.
2 vol.
p. 52.

How extravagant soever these Propositions were, the King so much subdu'd and suppress'd his Princely Indignation, that he drew them to a Treaty even upon those Propositions, expecting, (as he express'd in his Answer, when he propos'd the Treaty) *That such of them as appear'd derogatory from, and destructive to his just Power and Prerogative, should be waved, and many other Things that were dark and doubtful in them, might be clear'd and explain'd upon Debate; and concluding, that if they would consent to a Treaty, they would likewise give such Authority and Power of Reasoning to those, whom they should trust, that they might either give or take Satisfaction upon those Principles of Piety, Honour and Justice, as both Sides avowed, their being govern'd by.*

How that Treaty was manag'd, how their Commissioners were limited and bound up by their Instructions, that they had no Power to recede

recede from the least Material Tittle of the Propositions upon which they treated; how they were not suffer'd to stay one Hour beyond the Time first assign'd to them, albeit his Majesty earnestly desir'd the Treaty might be continu'd, till he had receiv'd an Answer to Propositions of his own, which he had sent to the Houses, because the Committee had no Power to answer them; and how the same Day their Commissioners left *Oxford*, the Earl of *Essex* march'd with his whole Army to besiege *Reading*, is known to all Men, who may conclude there-upon, that they never intended that Treaty should produce a Peace.

ON the other Side, the King propos'd only, *That his Ships might be restor'd to him, and his Castles and Revenue, which, by the Confession of all, had been violently taken from him; and that his Majesty and the Members of both Houses, who had been driven from Westminster, might either return thither, upon such a Provision as might secure them against Tumults for the future; or that the Parliament might be adjourn'd to some safe Place, and so all Armies presently to be disbanded:* To which Proposition from his Majesty, they never vouchsafed to return Answer, and the King, after he had above a Month in vain expected it from them; and in that Time receiv'd a good Supply of Ammunition, which he was before thought to want, sent another Message by Mr. *Alexander Hamden*, on the 19th of May, 1643. in which he told them, *That*
when

Col. Ord.
2 vol.
p. 181.

when he consider'd that the Scene of all the Calamity was in the Bowels of his own Kingdom, that all the Blood that was spilt was of his own Subjects; and that what Victory it should please God to give him, must be over those who ought not to have lifted up their Hands against him; when he consider'd that those desperate Civil Dissentions, might encourage and invite a Foreign Enemy to make a Prey of the whole Nation: That Ireland was in present Danger to be lost: That the heavy Judgment of God, Plague, Pestilence and Famine would be the inevitable Attendants of this unnatural Contention; and that in a short Time, there would be so general a Habit of Uncharitableness and Cruelty contracted throughout the Kingdom, that even Peace itself would not restore his People to their old Temper and Security; his Majesty could not suffer himself to be discourag'd, tho' he had receiv'd no Answer to his former Message, but by this did again, with much Earnestness, desire them to consider what he had before offer'd, which gave so fair a rise to End those unnatural Distractions

THIS most gracious Message from the King, met with so much worse Entertainment and Success than for the former, as it was not only ever answer'd, but the Messenger likewise (being a Gentleman of Quality and singular Integrity) tho' he was civilly receiv'd by the House of Lords, to whom he was directed, was by the House of Commons apprehended and imprison'd, and never after freed from his Restraint,

straint, till he ended his Life, after a long and consuming Sickness.

This is the Messenger they mean, who (to p. 10.
excuse their Inhumanity and Cruelty towards him) they say, *at the same Time he brought a specious Message of renewing a Treaty, was instructed how to manage that bloody Massacre in London, which was then design'd by vertue of the King's Commission, since publish'd.*

BEFORE any Thing be said of that Plot, it is known, that Gentleman was imprison'd many Days before there was any mention of a Plot; and the House of Peers solemnly expostulated the Injury done to them in it, and in vain requir'd his Enlargement, which they would not have done, if there had been any other Objection against him, than the coming without a Pass from their General, which was never understood to be requisite, till the House of Commons very few Days before declar'd it to be so, albeit themselves sent Messengers to the King without ever demanding a Pass.

NOW to the Plot itself: They have indeed Col. Ord.
publish'd a Narration of that Plot, which served 2 vol.
their Turn barbarously to put two very p. 199.
honest Men to death, and to undo very many more; and it is very probable they made that Relation as full and clear, as their Evidence enabl'd them to do, and yet whoever reads it, cannot conclude reasonably, that there was ever more in it than a Communion between honest Men, of good Reputation and Fortunes,
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and desirous of Peace, how they might be able to discountenance that disorderly Rabble, which upon all Occasions protested against Peace, by appearing as strong and considerable in Numbers as they, and which certainly ought to have found as great Countenance and Encouragement from the Parliament as the other; these Discourses produc'd a Disquisition of the general Affections of the City, and that a more particular Computation and Estimate of the Inclinations of particular Men, and so mention of several Things, which in such and such Cases would be necessary to be done; and these Discourses being, by the Treachery of a Servant, discover'd to those who could compound Plots and Conspiracies out of any Ingredients, they joyn'd those and a Commission they had likewise met with, together, and so shaped a Conspiracy, that they us'd as a Scare-crow to drive away any avow'd and publick Inclinations for Peace, the pressing whereof at that Time, was like to prove Inconvenient to them; but those Discourses, and that Commission, had not the least Relation to each other, nor was there one Man, who was accused of, or privy to those Discourses, whose Name was in that Commission, or indeed privy to it, which had been issued out a good time before, and was to have been made use of (being no other than a fair legal Commission of Array in *English*) if the King's Motion with his Army towards those Parts, gave the People so much Courage to appear
for

for him ; nor can there be a sober Objection against the King's granting such a Commission, when they had their Ordinances ready upon all Occasions, to be executed in the King's Quarters, and had named Commissioners for that Purpose in all the Counties of the Kingdom.

BUT to proceed, in the Overtures for Peace, from the End of the Treaty at *Oxford*, which was in *April*, 1643. they never made one Overture or Address to his Majesty towards Peace, till the End of *November*, 1644. in the mean Time, what Approaches the King made towards it must be remember'd: After the taking of *Bristol*, when his Majesty's Strength and Power was visible, and confessed in the *West*, and in the *North*, and the Enemies Condition apparently low, and in many of their Opinions even desperate; the King, albeit his last Messenger was still in Prison, and no Answer to his Messages, by his Declaration of the 30th of *June*, again renew'd all the Professions and Offers he had before made, and told them, *That Revenge and Blood-thirstiness had never been imputed to his Majesty by those, who had neither left his Government or Nature unexamin'd with the greatest Boldness and Malice, and therefore besought them to return to their Allegiance*: What passed from his Majesty himself, and from the Lords and Commons at *Oxford*, in *March* following, and with what Importunity they desir'd there might be a Treaty, by which some Ways and Means might be found, how a Peace might

Col. Ord.
2 vol.
p. 415.

be procur'd, and how peremptorily and disdainfully they rejected that Desire in their Answer to his Majesty of the 9th of *March*, because the greatest, and the greatest Number of the Peers of the Kingdom, and the greatest Part of the House of Commons, then with his Majesty at *Oxford*, seemed by him to be put in an equal Condition with them at *Westminster*, tho' they had been content, since, to put the Officers of the Army into, at least an equal Condition with them, by treating with them, is to be seen and read, and needs no Repetition.

IN *July* following, which was in the Year 1644. after he had routed the best Part of Sir *William Waller's* Army, and taken his Cannon, his Majesty sent from *Evesham*, another Message to the two Houses, to desire them, *that there might yet be a Cessation, and that some Persons might be sent to him with any Propositions that might be for the Good of his People, and he would condescend to them.* To which they never return'd Answer.

TWO Months after, on the 8th of *September*, when he had totally defeated the Army of the Earl of *Essex* in *Cornwall*, taken all their Cannon, Arms and Baggage; the King again sent to them, *That the extraordinary Success with which God had blessed him in so eminent a manner, brought him no Joy for any other Consideration, than for the Hopes he had, that it might be a Means to make others to lay to Heart, as he did, the Miseries brought and continu'd*
upon

upon this Kingdom by this unnatural War, and that it might open their Ears, and dispose their Minds to embrace those Offers of Peace and Reconciliation, which had been so often, and so earnestly made unto them by him, and from the constant and fervent Endeavours of which he resolved never to desist, And so conjured them to consider his last Message, and to send him an Answer : To this Message likewise, they never sent Answer: And these were the Tenders made by his Majesty, which, they say, were never fit for them to receive; we shall now proceed to those they thought fit to offer, and accuse his Majesty for not accepting.

ON the 23^d of November, 1644. the Committee from the two Houses brought the Propositions to the King, which, they say, were agreed on by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, not only as just, but necessary also for the very Being of these Kingdoms in a settled Peace and Safety: And which requir'd his Majesty to resign up all his Regal Power in his three Kingdoms, to those who sent those Propositions; to take their Covenant, and enjoyn all others to take it; and to sacrifice all his own Party (who had served him honestly and faithfully) to the Fury and Appetite of those, who had cast off their Allegiance to him, and to leave himself the meer empty Name of a King.

How the twenty Days were afterwards spent at *Uxbridge*, is publish'd to the World, in which the last Observation made by the

Relat.
Treat.
p. 175.

King's Commissioners must not be forgotten, *That after a War of near four Years, for which, the Defence of the Protestant Religion, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Privileges of the Parliament, were made the Cause and Grounds, in a Treaty of twenty Days, nor indeed upon the whole Propositions upon which the Treaty should be, there hath been nothing offer'd to be treated concerning the breach of any Law, or of the Liberty or Property of the Subject, or Privilege of Parliament, but only Propositions for the altering a Government established by Law, and for the making new Laws, by which almost all the old are, or may be cancell'd; and there hath been nothing insisted on of the King's Part, which is not Law, or deny'd by the King's Commissioners that the other requir'd, as due by Law.*

Pag. 10.

FOR the Protestation, which they say, was entered (about the Time of this Treaty) in the Council-Book, and of which his Majesty gave the Queen an Account; it is known to be no other than a Declaration, that by calling them a Parliament, there could be no Acknowledgment inferred, that he esteemed them a free Parliament, which few, at that Time, did believe them to be; and they have since, upon as small Reasons, confessed themselves not to be.

p. 8.

THEY alledge, as a wonderful Testimony of their Meekness and good Nature, *That after his Majesty's Armies were all broken, so that,*

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in disguise, he fled from Oxford to the Scots at Newark, and from thence went to Newcastle, they tendred to him at Newcastle, and afterwards, when the Scots had left him to the Commissioners of Parliament, at Hampton-Court, still the same Propositions in effect, which had been presented before, in the midst of all his Strength and Forces: Which is rather an Argument that they had at first made them as bad as possibly they could, than that they were good since; and (considering the Natures of these Declainers) there cannot be a more pregnant Evidence of the Illness and Vileness of those Propositions, than that they have not made them worse; nor is the Condition in which they have now impiously put his Majesty for his Refusal, worse, than it had been, or would be (his Personal Liberty only excepted) if he consented to them; and in one Consideration it is much better, because it is now a confessed Act of Violence and Treason upon him, which if he once consent to their Propositions, they will (when ever they find Occasion) appear legally qualify'd to do the same.

THEY have once again, out of their Desire of his Majesty's Concurrence, descended to one other Address to him, and they said, they did so qualify the said Propositions, that where it might stand with the publick Safety, his Majesty's wonted Scruples and Objections were prevented or removed, and yielded to a Personal Treaty, on Condition the King would sign but

p. 9.

four Bills, which they judged not only Just and Honourable, but necessary even for present Peace and Safety during such a Treaty; and upon his Denial of these, they are in Despair of any Good by Addresses to the King, neither must they be so Injurious to the People, in further delaying their Settlement, as any more to press his Consent, to these or any other Propositions.

WHAT the former Propositions and Addresses to his Majesty have been, and how impossible it hath been for him to consent to them with his Conscience, Honour, or Safety, appears before; and how inconvenient it would have been to the Kingdom if he had done it; they themselves have declar'd, by making such important Alterations, in respect to the *English* Interest in those presented at *Newcastle*, from the other treated on at *Uxbridge*; it will be fit therefore to examine these four Bills which were to be the Condition of the Treaty.

Their four Bills presented to his Majesty at Carisbrook Castle.

ONE of these Bills is, *to divest his Majesty and his Posterity for ever of any Power over the Militia*, and to transfer this Right, and more than ever was in the Crown, to these Men, who keep him Prisoner, for it is in their Power whether they will ever consent that it shall be in any other; and *to give them Power to raise what Forces they please, and what Money they think fit upon his Subjects; and by any Ways or Means they appoint*, and so frankly exclude himself from any Power in the making Laws.

T H E R E

T H E R E need no other Answer, why it is not fit or possible for the King to consent to this, than what the Commissioners from Scotland gave to the Houses, when they declared their dissent; *If the Crowns have no Power of the Militia, how can they be able to resist their Enemies, and the Enemies of the Kingdoms, protect their Subjects, or keep Friendship or Correspondence with their Allies? All Kings by their Royal Office and Oath of Coronation are obliged to protect their Laws and Subjects; it were strange then to seclude the Crown for ever from the Power of doing that, which by the Oath of Coronation they are obliged to perform, and the Obedience whereunto falleth within the Oath of Allegiance; and certainly if the King and his Posterity shall have no Power in making Laws, nor in the Militia, it roots up the strongest Foundation of Honour and Safety which the Crown affords, and will be interpreted in the Eyes of the World, to be a wresting of the Scepter and Sword out of their Hands.*

N O R can this just and honourable Assertion be answered and envaded by saying, *that the Militia was the principal immediate Ground of their Quarrel, in Order to the Preservation of Religion, and the just Rights and Liberties of the People; and that the Scots Commissioners have often agreed with them in it, and that the Kingdom of Scotland fought together with them for it and upon the Ground thereof; and that now they*

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Answ. Sc.
Com. p.
20.

Decl. con-
cerning
the Scots
Papers, p.
68.

argue against their injoying it almost in the very same Words, as the King did at the beginning of the War in His Declarations.

It is no wonder, that what these Men have done, and the horrid Confusion they have made, have evinced many Truths, which appeared not so manifest to all Understandings by what the King said, or that they have not so good an Opinion of those, who tell them *that there is another and a more natural Way to Peace, and to the ending the War, than by Agreement, namely by Conquest; as they had of them who with all imaginable Solemnity swore that they would sincerely, really, and constantly endeavour with their Estates and Lives, mutually to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's Person, and Authority, in the Preservation and Defence of the True Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms, that the World may bear Witness with their Consciences of their Loyalty, and that they had no Thoughts or Intentions to diminish his Majesty's Power and Greatness, which Engagements might persuade many, that their Purposes were other than they now appear to be.*

Mart. In-
de. p. 15.

3 Art. of
the Cove-
nant.

F O R that other Power, they require to raise what Moneys they please, and in what Way they please; all the People of *England* will say, that which the Army said honestly in their Representation agreed upon at *Newmarket* on the 4th and 5th of *June* against the Ordinance of Indempnity, *We shall be sorry that our Relief the Army, should be the Occasion of setting up more Arbitra-*

Decl. and
Papers of
the Army,
p. 31.

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ry Courts than there are already, with so large a Power of imprisoning any Free-Men of England as this Bill gives, let the Persons intrusted appear never so just and faithful.

INDEED that is asked of his Majesty by this Bill, which the King can neither give, nor they receive ; the King cannot give away his Dominion, nor make his Subjects subject to any other Prince or Power than to that under which they were born ; no Man believes that the King can transfer his Sovereign Power to the *French King*, or *King of Spain*, or to the States of the *United Provinces* ; nor by the same Reason can he transfer it to the States at *Westminster*. And the learned and wise *Grotius* (who will by no Means endure that Subjects should take Arms against their Princes upon any specious Pretences whatsoever) concludes, *Si rex tradere regnum, aut subdicere moliatur, quin ei resisti in hoc possit non dubito, aliud enim est imperium, aliud habendi modus, qui ne mutetur obstare protest populus ;* to the which he applies that of *Seneca*, *Etsi parendum in omnibus patri, in eo non parendum, quò efficitur ne pater sit ;* and it may be, this may be the only Case in which Subjects may take up defensive Arms, that they may continue Subjects ; for without doubt no King hath Power, not to be a King, because by divesting himself he gives away the Right which belongs to others, their Title to, and Interest in his Protection.

De jure
bell. fol.
85,

THE

Ex. Col.
Pag. 35.

THE two Houses themselves seemed to be of this Opinion, when in their Declaration of the 27th of May, 1642. they said, *the King by his Sovereignty is not enabled to destroy his People, but to protect and defend them; and the high Court of Parliament, and all other his Majesty's Officers and Ministers ought to be subservient to that Power and Authority, which Law hath placed in his Majesty to that Purpose, tho' he himself in his own Person should neglect the same: So that by their own Judgment and Confession it is not in the King's Power to part with that, which they ask of him; and it is probable, if they could have prevailed with him to do it, they would before now have added it to his Charge, as the greatest Breach of Trust that ever King was guilty of.*

4 Part In-
stit. fol. 14.

THEY cannot receive what they ask, if the King would give it; in the Journal of the House of Commons, they will find a Protestation entred by themselves in the third year of this King, when the Petition of Right was depending, in the debating whereof some Expressions had been used, which were capable of ill interpretation; *That they neither meant, nor had Power to hurt the King's Prerogative: And the Lord Chief Justice Coke, in the fourth Part of his Institutes, published by their Order since the beginning of this Parliament, says, That it was declared in the 42d Year of King Edward 3. by the Lords and Commons in full Parliament that they could not assent to any Thing in Parliament,*

ment, that tended to the disherison of the King and his Crown, whereunto they were sworn : And Judge Hutton in his Argument against Ship-Money, printed likewise by their Order since this Parliament, agrees expressly, *That the Power of making War and Leagues, the Power of the* ^{pag 25,} *Coin, and the Value of the Coines* ^{26.} *(usurped likewise by these Declarers) and many other Monarchical Powers and Prerogatives, which to be taken away, were against natural Reason, and are Incidents so inseparable, that they cannot be taken away by Parliament :* To which may be added the Authority of a more modern Author, who uses to be of the most powerful Opinion, Mr. Martin, who says, *that the Parliament it self hath not, in his humble Opinion, Authority enough to erect another Authority equal to it self ;* and these ambitious Men, who would impiously grasp the Sovereign Power into their Hands, may remember the Fate which attended that Ordinance in the Time of King Henry 3. to which that King *metu incarcerationis perpetuæ compulsus est consentire*, and by which the Care and Government of the Kingdom was put into the Hands of four and twenty ; how unspeakable Miseries befel the Kingdom thereby, and that in a short Time, there grew so great Faction and Animosity amongst themselves, that the major Part desired the Ordinance might be repealed, and the King restored to his just Power ; that they who refused came to miserable Ends, and their Families were destroyed with

Mart. Ind.
de: p. 27.

with them, and the Kingdom knew no Peace, Happiness, or Quiet, till all Submission and Acknowledgment, and Reparation was made to the King, and that they got most Reputation, who were most forward to return to their Duty, so that it is believed, if the King would transfer these Powers, tho' many Persons of Honour and Fortune have been unhappily seduced into this Combination; that in Truth no one of those would submit to bear a Part of that insupportable Burden, and that none would venture to act a Part in this Administration, but such whose Names were scarce heard of, or Persons known before these Distractions.

IF the King should consent to another of their four Bills, he should subvert the whole Foundations of Government, and leave Himself, Posterity, and the Kingdom without Security, when the Fire, that now burns, is extinguished, by making Rebellion, the legitimate Child of the Law; for if what these Men have done be lawful and just, and the Grounds upon which they have done it be justifiable, the like may be done again; and besides this, he must acknowledge and declare all those who have served him faithfully, and out of the most abstracted Considerations of Conscience and Honour, to be wicked and guilty Men, and so render those glorious Persons, who have payed the full Debt they owed to his Majesty and their Country, by loosing their Lives in his righteous Cause, and whose Memories must be kept fresh and pre-
tious

tious to succeeding Ages, Infamous after their Deaths, by declaring, that they did Ill, for the doing whereof, and the irreparable Prejudice that would accrue thereby to *Truth, Innocence, Honour and Justice*, all the Empires of the World would be a cheap and vile recompence.

NOR can this impossible Demand be made reasonable by saying, *It would be a base and dishonourable Thing for the Houses of Parliament, being in that Condition they are, to have treated under the Gallows, to have treated as Traytors, their Cause being not justify'd, nor the Declarations against them, as Rebels recalled.* It would be a much more base and dishonourable Thing, to renounce the Old and New Testament, and declare that they are not the Word of God; to cancel and overthrow all the Laws and Government of the Kingdom; all which must be done, before their Cause, or their Manner of maintaining their Cause can be justify'd: And if they were not perversly blind to their own Interest, they would know and discern, that such an Act is as pernicious to themselves, as to Truth and Reason, their own Security depending on nothing more, than a Provision, that no others for the Time to come, shall do what they have done; nor can they enjoy any Thing, but on the Foundation of that Law they have endeavour'd to overthrow.

Decl. concerning the Scots Papers, p. 86.

THE King hath often offer'd an Act of Oblivion, which will cut down all Gallows, and wipe out all opprobrious Terms, and may make
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the very Memory and mention of Treason and Traytors, as penal, as the Crimes ought to have been; they who desire more, ask Impossibilities, and that which would prove their own Destruction; and whoever requires their Cause to be justify'd, can have no Reason for doing it, but because he knows it is not to be justify'd.

THE End of the third Bill is to *dishonour those of his own Party, whom he hath thought fit to honour: and to cancel those Acts of Grace and Favour he vouchsafed them*, which is against all Reason and Justice, for if he had no Power to confer those Honours, there needs no Act of Parliament to declare or make them void; if he had Power, there is no Reason why they should be less Lords, upon whom he conferr'd that Honour the last Year, than those he shall create the next: Nor is this Proposition of the least imaginable Moment to the Peace of the Kingdom, or Security of a Treaty; tho' it be of no less Concernment to his Majesty, than the parting with one of the brightest Flowers in his Crown.

THE last Bill is *to give the two Houses Power to adjourn, to what Place, and at what Time they please, which by the Act of Continuance, they cannot now do, without the King's Consent, tho' there is no Reason they should attribute more to his Person in that Particular, than they do in other Things, to which his Assent is necessary, and if they do indeed believe, that his Regal Power is*
virtually

virtually in them, they may as well do this Act without him, as all the rest have done.

THE King in his Message of the 12th of April, 1643. rather intimated, than propounded the Adjournment of the Parliament to any Place twenty Miles from London, which the Houses should chuse, as the best Expedient he could think of, for his own and their Security from those tumultuous Assemblies which interrupted the Freedom thereof; to which, tho' they return'd no Answer to his Majesty, yet in their Declaration after that Treaty at Oxford, they declar'd *the wonderful Inconveniency and Unreasonableness of that Proposition; the Inconveniences that would happen to such Persons that should have Occasion to attend the Parliament, by removing it so far from the Residency of the Ordinary Courts of Justice, and the Places where the Records of the Kingdom remain: That it would give a tacit Consent to that high and dangerous Aspersions of awing the Members of this Parliament, and it would give too much Countenance to those unjust Aspersions laid to the charge of the City of London, whose unexampled Zeal and Fidelity to the true Protestant Religion, and the Liberty of this Kingdom (they said) is never to be forgotten, and that they were well assur'd, that the Loyalty of that City to his Majesty, and their Affections to the Parliament, is such, as doth equal, if not exceed any other Place or City in the Kingdom; which Reasons being as good now as they were then, the*

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King

Col. ord.
2 vol.
P. 97.

King hath follow'd but their own Opinion in not consenting to this Bill.

IN a Word: All the World cannot reply to his Majesty's own Answer upon the delivery of these four Bills, or justify their Proceeding, *That when his Majesty desires a Personal Treaty with them for the settling of a Peace, they in Answer propose, the very subject Matter of the most essential Part thereof to be first granted;* and therefore the King most prudently and magnanimously declares, *That neither the Desire of being freed from this tedious and irksome Condition of Life, he hath so long suffered, nor the apprehension of what may befall him, shall make him change his Resolution of not consenting to any Act, 'till the whole Peace be concluded;* for, in Truth, nothing is more evident, than that if he pass these Bills, he neither can be able to refuse any Thing else they shall propose, for he hath reserved no Title to any Power, nor can have Reason to do it; for having resign'd his choicest Regalities, it would be great improvidence to differ with them upon more petty Concessions; and having made all honest Men Guilty, he could not in Justice deny to refer the Punishment of them to those, who could best proportion it to the Crimes: So that a Treaty could afterwards be to no other End, than to finish his own Destruction with the greater Pomp and Solemnity; whereas the End of a Treaty is (and it can have no other) upon debate to be satisfy'd, *That he may lawfully grant what is desir'd, That it is for the*
Benefit

Benefit of his People, that he should grant it, how prejudicial soever it may seem to himself, and that being granted, himself shall securely enjoy what is left, how little soever it be, and that his Kingdom shall by such his Concessions be intirely possessed of Peace and Quiet; the last of which cannot be, (at least his Majesty hath great Reason to suspect it may not) without the Consent of the Scots, who peremptorily Protest against these Four Bills, and say that it is expressly provided in the 8th Article, That no Cessation nor any Pacification or Agreement for Peace whatsoever shall be made by either Kingdom, or the Armies of either Kingdom, without the mutual Advice and Consent of both Kingdoms, or their Committees in that behalf appointed, which is neither Answer'd, or avoided, by saying, that no impartial Man can read that Article of the Treaty, but he must needs agree, that it could be meant only whilst there was War, and Armies on both sides in Being; and that it must of Necessity end, when the War is at an End; for, besides, that War is not, nor can be at an End, till there be an Agreement, (and if it be, why is there so great an Army kept up in the Kingdom?) By the same Reason that Article was so understood, as it is now urged by the Scots before their coming into the Kingdom, it may be so understood after they are gone; and that the Houses themselves did understand it so, in the beginning of January 1643. before the Scots Army entred, appears by a Declaration Mr. St.

Answ. Sc.
Com. p. 23

Decl. concerning
the Scots
Papers,
p. 92.

Cunning
Plot, p. 3.

Johns made at that Time in the Name of the Houses (and printed by Order) to the City of London at Guild-hall, upon the discovery of a cunning Plot (as they said) to divide and destroy the Parliament and the City of London, under the Notion of a Peace; and by engaging them in a *Treaty of Peace*, without the Advice and Consent of their Brethren of Scotland, which (he said) would be contrary to the late Articles solemnly agreed upon by both Kingdoms, and to the perpetual Dishonour of the Nation, by breach of their Publick Faith engaged therein to that Nation; so that the two Houses having given their Judgment in the Point, the King hath great Reason, if he had no other, to have the whole well debated before him, and the several Interests weigh'd and agreed upon, before he give his Consent to any Particulars, which will else produce more Mischief than his refusing all can possibly do.

pag. 83.

N O R will these and their other extravagant and licentious Demands be better justify'd, by their undervaluing the King's present Power, in their insolent Question in their late Declaration concerning the Scots Commissioners (which in Truth, throughout is but a Paraphrase upon that Speech of *Demetrius* to his Companions of the like Occupation, *Sirs, you know that by this Craft we have our Wealth*) what can the King give them, but what they have already?

I T is not out of their Duty or good Will to him, that they make any Application to him,
and

and if they did indeed believe, that his Majesty could give them nothing, but what they have already, he should hear no more from them, but they very well know, they have yet nothing, except he give them more; and that the Man that is robb'd and spoil'd of all that he hath, when he hath procured a Pardon for, and given a Release to the Thieves and Robbers, he hath given them more than they had before, and that which only can make what they had before of Benefit and Advantage to them; they know and will feel the Judgment upon the wicked Man in *Job*, *he hath swallowed down Riches, and he shall vomit them up again, God shall cast them out of his Belly; because he hath oppressed, and hath forsaken the Poor, because he hath violently taken away a House which he builded not: In the fulness of his Sufficiency he shall be in Straits:* That all their Reproachings and Revilings with which they have triumphed over the Lord's Anointed, must come into their Bowels like Water, and like Oil into their Bones: And that nothing can restore or preserve them, but the Antidotes and Cordials, and Balm, which the King only can Administer; they know very well, that even the most unfortunate Kings, that ever have been in *England*, could never be destroy'd without their own Consent; and that all their Power and Strength, and Success (tho' for a Time it may oppress) can never subdue the Crown, without its own being accessory to its own Ruin; and the King very well knows, that what

Job 20. 15,
19, 22.

Psal. 109.
18.

he yet suffers, is not thro' his own Default, but by such a Defection as may determine all the Empires of the World, and that in the unspeakable Miseries (which all his good Subjects have undergone) he is yet innocent; the Conscience whereof hath refreshed him in all his Sufferings, and maketh him superior to their Insolence, Contempt and Tyranny, and keeps him constant to his princely and pious Resolution; but that, if by any unhappy Consent of his own, such an Establishment shall be made, as shall expose himself, his Posterity and People to Misery, it will lie all upon his own Account, and rob him of that Peace of Mind, which he now enjoys and values above all the Considerations of the World, well knowing that God requires the same, and no more of him, than

Josh. 1. 7. he did of his Servant *Joshua*, *Only be thou strong, and very couragious, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the Law which Moses my Servant commanded thee, turn not from it to the right Hand, or to the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest.*

*Decl. concerning
Sc. Com.
p. 70.*

H O N E S T Men and good Christians will be less moved with their bold and presumptuous Conclusion, which they have learned from their new Confederates the *Turks*, *That God himself hath given his Verdict on their Sides, in their Successes*; not unlike the Logick used by *Dionysius*, who, because he had a good gale of Wind at Sea, after he had sack'd the Temple of *Proserpine*, concluded, *That the immortal Gods favoured*

voured

voured Sacrilege. It is very true, they have been the Instruments of God's heavy Judgments upon a most sinful People, in very wonderful Successes, yet if they would believe *Solomon*, they would find, *There is a Time wherein one Man rules over another to his own Hurt*; and Prosperity was never yet thought a good Argument of Mens Piety, or being in the right; and yet if these Men did enough think of God Almighty, and seriously revolve the Works of his own Hand throughout this Rebellion, and since they had looked upon themselves as Conquerors, they would be so far from thinking that he had given his Verdict on their Side, that they would conclude, that he hath therefore only suffer'd them to prosper to this Degree, that his own Power and immediate Hand might be more clearly discern'd and manifested in their Destruction, and that the Cause might appear to be his own, by his most miraculous Vindication of it. Eccl. 8.9.

IF Master *Hambden* had been less active and passionate in the Business of the *Militia*, which might have proceeded from natural Reason, and Reformation of his Understanding, the Judgment and Verdict of God would not have been so visible as it was in the losing his Life in that very Field, in which first, he presum'd to execute that Ordinance against the King.

IF Sir *John Hotkam* had never deny'd his Majesty entrance into, and shut the Gates of *Hull* against him, from which, natural Allegiance, and civil Prudence might have restrain'd him, the

Judgment and Verdict of God had been less evident than it was, when after he had wish'd, *that God would destroy him and his Posterity if he prov'd not faithful to the King*, at the same Time that he had planted his Cannon against him; he and his Son were miserably executed by the Judgment of those, who but by his Treason could never have been enabl'd to have exercis'd that Jurisdiction; and that having it in his Power, he should perfidiously decline to serve his Majesty, and afterwards lose his Head for desiring to do it, when he had no Power to perform it.

THEY who remember the affected virulency of Sir *Alexander Carew* against the King, and all those who adher'd to him; and how passionately he extoll'd and magnify'd the Perjury and Treachery of a Servant, as if he had done his Duty to the Kingdom, by being false to his Master the King; and that this Man afterwards should, by the Treachery of his Servant, be betray'd, and lose his Head by their Judgments, for whose sakes he had forfeited it to the King, cannot but think the Verdict of God more visible, than if he had contain'd himself within the due limits of his Obedience, and never swerved from his Allegiance.

TO omit infinite other Instances, which the Observation of all Men can supply them with, the Verdict of God had not been so remarkable and notorious, if the King had prevail'd with his Army, and reduc'd his rebellious Subjects to their
Duty,

Duty, which might naturally have been expected from the Cause, and the Fate that Rebels usually meet with; as that after a total Defeat of the King's Forces, and their gaining all the Power into their Hands, they could possibly propose to themselves, they should not only be in more Perplexity and Trouble, than when they had a powerful Army to contend with, but in more In-security and Danger, than if they had been overcome by that Army.

T H A T the City of *London* should be expos'd to all imaginable Scorn, Contempt and Danger, upon the same Ordinance of the *Militia*, by which their Pride and Sedition principally expos'd the Kingdom to the Miseries it hath endur'd; that the same Arts and Stratagems of Petitions and Acts of Common Council with which they affronted the King, and drove him from them, should be apply'd to their own Confusion and Ruin.

T H A T those Members who were the Principal Contrivers of our Miseries, the most severe and uncharitable Persecutors of all, who were not of that Opinion, and the greatest Cherishers of those Tumults, which drove the King and all that wished well and were faithful to him from *Westminster*, should themselves be persecuted for their Opinions by those, whom they had supported, and be driven thence by the same Force; and as they had to make the KING odious to the People against their own Consciences, cast Aspersions on him of favouring
ing

2 Mac. 5.

ing the Rebellion in *Ireland*; so themselves to the same End, should be accus'd of the obstructing the Relief of *Ireland*; so that to some of them, that Story of *Jason*, (which tho' it be not Canonical Scripture, is yet Canonical History) may be literally apply'd, who slew his own Citizens without Mercy, not considering, that to get the Day of them of his own Nation, would be a most unhappy Day for him, who afterwards flying from City to City, was pursu'd of all Men, hated as a Forsaker of the Laws, and being had in Abomination, as an open Enemy of his Country and Country-men, was cast out into *Ægypt*: Thus he that had driven many out of their Country, perished in a strange Land, and he that had cast out many unburied, had none to mourn for him, nor any solemn Funeral at all, nor Sepulcher with his Fathers.

Ex. Col.
p. 93.

T H A T they who told the King, *That if he should persist in the Denial of the Militia, the Dangers and Distempers of the Kingdom are such, as would endure no longer Delay, but unless he would be graciously pleased to assure by those Messengers, that he would speedily apply his Royal Assent to the Satisfaction of their former Desires, they should be enforced for the Safety of his Majesty and the Kingdoms, to dispose of the Militia by the Authority of both Houses, in such manner as hath been propounded, and they resolved to do it accordingly, and upon that Ground did raise the Rebellion against the King; That these Men*
should

should be told by their own *Militia*, That they were clearly convinc'd and satisfy'd, that both their Duties and Trust for the Parliament and Kingdom, call'd upon them, and warranted them, and an eminent Necessity inforced them, to make or admit of no longer Delays, but they should take such Courses extraordinary, as God should enable and direct them unto, to put Things to a speedy issue, unless by Thursday next they receive Assurance and Security to themselves, and the Kingdom, that those Things should be granted which they insisted on; which were to have several Acts passed by the Houses, speedily reversed, and other Acts formerly refused, to be consented to, all which was done accordingly.

Decl. and
Papers of
the Army,
p. 67.

T H A T their own Army should rebel against them upon the Principles of their own Declarations, which (they tell them) directed still to the equitable Sense of all Laws and Constitutions, as dispensing with the very Letter of the same, and being supreme to it, when the Safety and Preservation of all is concern'd; and assuring them that all Authority is fundamentally seated in the Office, and but Ministerially in the Persons; and that it is no resisting of Magistracy, to side with the just Principles and Law of Nature, and Nations: All which were the very Grounds and Assertions upon which they raised and justify'd their Rebellion against the King.

Decl. and
Papers of
the Army,
p. 39, 40.

Lastly, T H A T this very Declaration which they hop'd would prepare the Minds and Affections of the People with so much Prejudice to
his

his Majesty, that they would concur with them in any desperate Act against him and his Posterity, should so much incense all sorts of People against them, that they are since looked on, as the most odious scum of Men, that ever infested a Nation; and have lost more by it, than they have ever got by any Victory.

THESE are the visible Instances of God's Verdict in the Cause, so that if they had (with all their hypocritical Discourses of Religion) the least Sense of God's Favours, or Fear of his Judgments, if they had not said unto him, *Depart from us, for we desire not the Knowledge of thy Ways*, they would before this have felt that Agony of Heart, and trembling in their Joynts, out of the very Sense of the Hand of God upon them, that they would take no rest, till they cast themselves at his Feet whom they have offended, and employ all their Faculties towards repairing their gracious Sovereign, and binding up the Wounds of their almost ruin'd Country.

The Commons Resolutions of making no more Addresses to the King.

INSTEAD of which, to make their Mad-ness as publick and notorious as their Rebellion, they have resolved, and published their Resolutions to the Kingdom: 1. *That they will make no further Address or Application to the KING.* 2. *That no Person whatsoever shall make any, without their leave.* 3. *That whosoever shall break this Order, shall incur the Penalties of High Treason.* 4. *That they will receive no more any Messages from the KING, and that no Person shall presume*

presume to bring any Message from the KING to them, or to any other Person.

By the first and last of which, they have made and declared themselves no Parliament; for being call'd by the King's Writ to Treat with him, if they will neither send to him, or hear from him, they can be no longer a Parliament.

By the Second, they have taken away from the Subjects of the three Kingdoms, that which themselves acknowledge to be their natural Right and Liberty, for they say, (and they say truly) in their Declaration of the 6th of May, 1643. *That to present their humble Desires and Propositions to his Majesty, is a Liberty incident unto them, not only as Members of Parliament, but as free-born Subjects, yet this Freedom is by this Vote taken away.*

Col. Ord.
2 vol.
p. 98.

To the Third, there needs be no more said than what the Army (who, no doubt, will justify what they say) said upon this Argument, *Not only to be deny'd the Right and the Liberty to Petition, but withal by a Censure, no less than Capital, to be exposed to a Forfeiture of Estate, Liberty, Life, and all, for but going to ask what a Man conceives to be his due; and this without ever asking, or hearing what he can say in his Excuse; would carry so high a Face of Injustice, Oppression, and Tyranny, as is not easy to be exemplified in the Proceedings of the most corrupt and arbitrary Courts, towards the meanest single Man: And they shall do well to remember their own*

Judg-

Decl. and
Papers of
the Army,
p. 35.

Ex. Col.
p. 278.

Judgment in their Remonstrance of the 26th of May, 1642. in these Words, *If the solemn proclaiming a Man Traytor, signify any thing, it puts a Man, and all those that any way aid, assist, or adhere to him in the same Condition of Traytors, and draws upon him all the Consequences of Treason; and if this may be done by Law, without due Process of Law, the Subject hath a very poor Defence of the Law, and a very small, if any Proportion of Liberty thereby; and it is as little Satisfaction to a Man that shall be expos'd to such Penalties, by that Declaration of him to be a Traytor, to say, he shall have a Legal Trial afterwards, as it is to condemn a Man first, and try him afterwards.*

ALL the Particulars of their Declaration are now examin'd, and however these desperate Men may flatter themselves, and how long soever they shall continue in this their damnable *Apostasy*; the present Age and Posterity will believe that instead of rendring and making the KING appear unworthy of, or unequal to the high Office and Charge, to which God hath advanc'd him; they have, in Truth, vindicated him from all those Aspersions and Blemishes their Malice had cast on him, and that he appears the most worthy the great Trust he was born to, if he had no other Title to it, than his admirable Virtue and Perfection: After the boldest and strictest Inquisition, that was ever made into the Life and Manners of any Gentleman; after their examining all the Actions, and all

all the Words of his Life, and with impious Licence, perverting and torturing those Actions and Words with their unreasonable Glosses, and Interpretations; after their breaking into his Chamber, by corrupting his nearest Servants, and thereby knowing what in any Passion or Indisposition he hath said or done; after their opening his Breast, and examining his most reserv'd Thoughts, by searching his Cabinets, perusing his Letters, even those he had written in Cipher to his dearest Consort the *Queen*, and his private Memorials: They have not been able to fix a Crime or Error upon him, which would draw a Blush from the modestest Cheek, nor by all their Threats, and all their Promises, to shake his pious and magnanimous Resolutions; so that in Truth, their main Trouble and Vexation is no other, than *David* heretofore gave *Saul*, who *when he saw, that he behav'd himself very wisely, he was afraid of him.*

1 Sam. 18.

15.

BUT these miserable Men must know, that if the King were as unjust, and as oppressing as they would have him believed to be, or as the best of them would be, if he were in his Place; they have not any Title or Qualification to use him as they have done: For, if it were Lawful for Subjects to take up Arms against their Sovereign, upon Pretence, that he were Injurious, and performed not the Duty and Office of a King, besides the Confusion that must follow, upon their assuming the Judgment in that Case, they would have it in their Power to resist, and avoid

avoid one of the greatest and most immediate Judgments which God sends to correct and chastise a Nation, which hath provok'd him to

Isa. 19. 4. *Displeasure: And the Egyptians will I give over into the Hand of a cruel Lord, and a fierce King shall rule over them,* says God himself by the

Prophet *Isaiah*: He that can destroy a Nation by what Judgment he pleases; he that can humble this People by a Famine, and destroy that by a Plague, may, if he think fit, chuse to do either by the Cruelty and Fierceness of a

Hof. 13. 11. *King, I gave thee a King in mine Anger,* says the same Spirit by the Prophet *Hosea*. Now if it were lawful for us to be angry with that King,

whom God hath in his Anger given us; or to be fierce against him, whose Fierceness the Lord hath sent as his Judgment upon us, we might

31. m. 2. 1. easily elude those Sentences of his Wrath, and drive those Afflictions from us, by our own Courage, without waiting his leisure for our

Redemption: And it may be no ill Reason of that Expression in the Prophet *Samuel*, that *Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft*, that as

Men go to Witches, and Witches go to the Devil, to get or discover somewhat, which God would not have them get or discover; so they

who rebel, endeavour, by the Help of the Devil, to be too hard for God Almighty, and to avoid by their own Skill and Activity, a Cala-

mity, by which God meant to reclaim them:

Prov. 16. 14. *The Wrath of a King is as Messengers of Death, but a wise Man will pacify it,* says *Solomon*;

not

not oppose and resist, or rebel against it; and yet the same *Solomon* tells us, that *Wrath is cruel*: There is an Ingredient of Injustice, of Uncharitableness, of Cruelty in all Wrath, and yet the wise Man, the honest, just, conscientious Man, thinks of nothing but pacifying it; Gentleness, Application and Humility should be used to soften and mollify his Wrath; Indeed, so much is due to any Wrath: A wise and a charitable Man, will take so much Pains to reform and compose the Wrath and Distemper of his Neighbour, of his Equal; but there is much more to be done to the Wrath of a King; and *Tremellius* extends this Care of the wise Man much further than such a pacifying, and renders this Text, *Vir sapiens expiabit eam*, let this Wrath be never so unjust, so unreasonable, so immerited, the wise Man *expiabit eam*; he will behave himself as if the Fault were in him, as if he had provok'd and incens'd the King to that Wrath, he will expiate, he will give Satisfaction by Prayer, by Submission; by any Sacrifice that may pacify, and be acceptable to the offended Majesty; and by an exact and punctual Performance of what becomes a Subject, convince the King of the Error and Mistake of his Passion: They, who under Pretence of Innocence and of Faultlessness, neglect and contemn the Anger and Displeasure of Princes, are not innocent enough, nor look on Majesty with that Reverence which becomes them; *Solomon's* wise Man will expiate the King's Wrath from what

Fountain of Passion or Prejudice soever it proceeds.

IT cannot be deny'd, that unjust, cruel and unmerciful Princes are great Afflictions and Judgments upon a People; yet the Calamities under such are much more supportable, than the Confusion without any; and therefore God frequently exercis'd his peculiar and chosen People, with prophane, wicked and tyrannical Kings, and refreshed them again with pious and devout, and just Princes, but it was a signal Mark of their Desolation, when he declar'd, *That the Children of Israel should abide many Days without a King, and without a Prince*; and it was a sure Sign, when they had no King, that they had not fear'd the Lord, and then what should a King do to them?

Hos. 3. 4.
10. 3.

IF the most notable Ministers of Confusion, and they who apprehend least the Effects of it, would but a little consider in their own Stations, the Misery and Desolation that must inevitably attend the breach of Order and Subjection in little: If the Father thought of the impossibility of living in his own House, if his Wife and Children might follow the Dictates of their own Reasons, and Wills, and Appetites, without observing his Rule and Directions: If the Master would consider the intolerableness of his Condition, if his Servants might question, dispute and contemn his Commands, and act positively against them, they would be the more competent Considerers of the Mischiefs

chiefs and Miseries that must befall Kingdoms and Commonwealths ; If Subjects may rebel against the Power and Authority of Princes, whom God hath appointed to govern over them : There is not one of these Declarers, who doth not think he hath a Prerogative vested in him by Nature ; it is the Prerogative of the Husband, the Father, the Master, not to have his Pleasure disputed by his Wife, his Child, his Servant, whose Piety consists in Obedience ; yet they cannot endure the mention of the *King's Prerogative*, by, and under which only, it is possible for them to enjoy theirs. It was a well-weighed Scoff, by which *Lycurgus* convinced him, who desir'd him to establish a *popular Government* in *Lacedemon* : *Begin* (said he) *first to do it in thine own House* ; and truly tho' these *Ephori* (whose Profession it is to curb the Power of Kings) intended nothing less, than to part with the least Tittle of their own just Authority ; they are appeal'd to, whether they have not felt that Power insensibly shrink from them, whilst they have been ambitiously grasping at that which belong'd not to them ? Is the Piety of Children, and the Obedience of Servants the same it was before these Days of License ? Hath not God sent the same Defection of Reverence, Kindness, and affectionate Inclinations into Families, to the rooting up and extirpating of all possible Joy and Delight in each other, which the Heads of those Families have cherish'd and countenanc'd in the State ? It may

be there would not be a better or an easier Expedient to reduce ourselves, and recover that Allegiance we have forsaken, than by sadly weighing and considering the Effects, Kinds, and Species of God's Judgments upon us, since we have been guilty of that Breach: If every Father whose Soul hath been grieved and afflicted with the pertinacious undutifulness of a Child, would believe (as he hath great Reason to do) that God hath sent that Perverseness and Obstinacy into his own Bowels, to punish his peremptory Disobedience to the Father of the Kingdom, his Sovereign Lord the King: If every Master of a Family, who hath been injur'd, betray'd and oppress'd, by the Treachery, Infidelity, or Perjury of a Servant, would remember how false, unfaithful and forsworn, he hath been to his Master the King, and conclude that his Servant was but the Minister of God's Vengeance upon him, for that Transgression: If the whole Nation would consider the Scorn, Contempt and Infamy it now endures and suffers under, with all Nations, Christian and Heathen, in the known World, and confess that God hath sent that heavy Judgment upon them, for their Contempt of him, for whose sake they were own'd and taken notice of for a Nation: It would not be possible but we should bring ourselves to that true remorse of Conscience for the Ill we have done, that God would be wrought upon to take off the Ill we have suffer'd, and we could not entertain a fond Hope

Hope of enjoying the least Prosperity ourselves, without restoring to the King what hath been rebelliously taken from him.

THEY say, That *tho' they have made those* p. 37.
Resolutions of making no more Applications to the King, yet they will use their utmost Endeavours to settle the present Government, as may best stand with the Peace and Happiness of this Kingdom. What the present Government is, no Man understands, and therefore cannot know what that Peace and Happiness shall be, which they intend shall accrue to the Kingdom by it : The little Cabinet of Peers (for the House is shrunk into that Proportion) hath no share in it, as appears by the giving Possession of the Navy to *Rainsborough* without their Consent, after they had ask'd it ; and by their doing many other Things of high Moment, without so much as asking their Concurrence : That it is not in the Commons is as plain by their repealing such Acts of their own, and making others, as the Army requires them to do ; and that the Army is not possess'd of it, needs no other Argument, than the Invasion and Violation of all the Articles ever made by the Army upon any Surrender, which if the Power were in them, would, for their own Honour, have been observ'd ; so that the Endeavour they promise to use to settle the present Government, is to take an effectual Care, that all Laws and legal Authority may, for the present, be so suppress'd, that there may be no Government at all : And, truly, it

may be in their Power for some Time to improve the Confusion that is upon us, and to draw on the Desolation which attends us; but to settle any kind of Government, which can bring Peace, or any Degree of Happiness to the languishing Kingdom, nay, which can be any Security to themselves and their Posterity, except they submit to the good old one, under which they were born, cannot be within their Power, nor sink into their reasonable Hope: Nothing is more demonstrable, than that they can never establish a Peace to the Kingdom, or any Security to themselves, but by restoring the just Power to the King, and dutifully submitting and joyning themselves to his Protection; and it is as manifest, that by that way, they may restore the Kingdom to Peace, and preserve themselves and Families, and Posterities in all Security and Honour: The Examination and clearing of which two Propositions shall conclude this Discourse.

The Conclusion.

THE Reverence and Superstition which the People generally paid to the Name and Authority of Parliament, and by which they have been cozened into the miserable Condition they now are in, is so worn out, that without captivating their Reasons any longer to it as a Council, they plainly discern the Ambition, Weakness, Vanity, Malice, and Stupidity of the particular Members, of whom it is, and of whom it ought not to be constituted, and easily conclude,

clude, that as they had robbed them of the most happy and plentiful Condition any Freeman of the World ever enjoy'd, so they can never be Instruments of any kind of Peace and Security to them; and that as they have upon the Matter, dissolved the noblest Structure, and Frame of Government, in Church and State, that hath been at any Time in the Christian World, so that they are too much transported with Passion and Guilt, and of too little Interest, Experience and Understanding, to devise and settle a new Form, or to mend any Defects in the old: Besides that, they plainly discern that they are not the Ministers of their Country, for whom they were chosen and deputed, but for the Army, whose Dictates they are oblig'd and forc'd to follow, so that if their Inclinations were good, they have not Power to execute accordingly: And are like the Eagle in *Esdra*s, when the Voice went not out of her Head, but from the midst of her Body. 2 Esdr. 11.
10.

THE mutual Confidence between them and their Army is totally dissolved, it being not possible for the Houses ever to repose Trust in any Army, for they can never believe any Army to be more at their Devotion, than they had Reason to think that under Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; nor for the Army to pay a full Submission to the Houses, for, admitting that Party, which is most powerful in the Army for the present, is of the same Mind and Opinion with that Party which is most powerful in the Houses, yet be-

Decl. and
Papers of
the Army,
p. 22.

ing both still Rivals for the Sovereign Power, they can never intirely trust, or intirely submit to each other; tho' the Houses should consist of none but such who were glad at that Time, that the King was taken from *Holmby*, and that the Army did not disband, yet they will always remember, that the one was done without their Order or Consent, and that the Army may do the like again when they think fit, and when it may not turn so much to their Advantage; and that they did not only not disband at that Time, but have declar'd by their solemn Engagement of the Army, the 5th of June, *That they will not disband, nor divide, nor suffer themselves to be divided or disbanded, till they have first Security and Satisfaction in those Things they have desir'd, in such manner as shall be agreed upon by a Council, to consist of those general Officers of the Army (who have concurred with the Army in what they have done, and what they have demanded) with two Commission Officers, and two Soldiers to be chosen for each Regiment, who have concurred, and shall concur with them in the Premises and in this Agreement; so that it is evident, that the Army will be govern'd, and dispos'd of only by themselves, for which they have very great Reason, and without which indeed they can have no Security; for how complying soever the Houses are for the present, the Soldiers cannot forget, that they were once declar'd Traytors but for preparing a Petition, and they wisely observe, that what was done,*
may

may be done again ; and by the Demurrs which have been made concerning the Safety and Immunity of the Speakers and those faithful Members who were driven away by Violence, and the Immunity of the Army in advancing to London, (notwithstanding the publick Acknowledgment and Thanksgiving to God for it) They discern that they are only safe, by the want of Power in the Houses of what Party soever they consist, the Ambition, Injustice, and Tyranny of both being equal.

THE Army have already fully declar'd against their late Votes and Resolutions, and therefore it must be presumed, they will never concur, or contribute to the supporting them: The General himself, in his Letter of the 6th of June, from Cambridge, to the Speaker, tells him, *That as it is his most earnest and humble Desire, so he found it to be the unanimous Desire and Study of the Army, that a firm Peace in this Kingdom may be settled, and the Liberties of the People clear'd and secur'd, according to the many Declarations by which they were invited and induc'd to engage in the late War: And in the Declaration and Representation from the General and the whole Army of the 14th of June to the Parliament, they tell them plainly and honestly, That they were not a mere mercenary Army, hired to serve any Arbitrary Power of State, but called forth, and conjured by several Declarations of Parliament to the Defence of their own, and the Peoples just Rights and Liberties, and*

Id. 140,
141.

Decl. and
Papers of
the Army,
pag 23.

Decl. and
Papers of
the Army,
p. 39.

so they take up Arms in Judgment and Conscience to those Ends, and have so continu'd them, and are resolved according to the first just Desires in their Declarations, and such Principles as they had receiv'd from their frequent Informations, and their own common Sense concerning those fundamental Rights and Liberties; and to assent and vindicate the just Power and Rights of this Kingdom in Parliament, for those common Ends premised, against all Arbitrary Power, Violence and Oppression, and against all particular Parties or Interests whatsoever: And in their Remonstrance of the 23^d of June from St. Albans, they

Ib. p. 63. say, That the Kingdom calls upon them not to disband till they see the Rights, Liberties, and Peace of the Kingdom settled, according to the many Declarations, by which they were first called forth, and invited to engage in the late War.

Now what those Ends, Desires, and Principles were in their Declarations, are set forth before, and known to all Men, who have or will read their Declaration, to be no other than the

Ex. Col. p. 281. Maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, the King's just Prerogative, the Laws and Liberties of the Land, and the Priviledges of Parliament, in which Endeavours (they said) they would still persist, tho' they should perish in the Work: And they were so far from avowing, that they would not send to, or hear from the King, or not suffer his Majesty to come to them, that they declare, That as they never gave him any just Cause

Ib. 588. of withdrawing himself from his great Council, so

it had ever been, and should ever be far from them to give any Impediment to his Return: And in their Declaration in Answer to the King's, after the Battle at Edghill, concerning the Allegations, that the Army raised by the Parliament was to murder and depose the King, they say, They hoped the Contrivers of that Declaration, or any that professed but the Name of a Christian, could not have so little Charity, as to raise such a Scandal, especially when they must needs know the Protestation taken by every Member of both Houses, whereby they Promise in the presence of Almighty God, to defend his Majesty's Person: And by that Protestation of the 22d of October, 1642. (remembered before) they declare in the presence of Almighty God, to this Kingdom and Nation, and to the whole World, That no private Passion or Respect, no evil Intention to his Majesty's Person, no Design to the prejudice of his just Honour and Authority, engag'd them to raise Forces, and to take up Arms: So that these being the Desires, Ends, and Principles in their Declarations, by which the Army was invited to engage in this War, they will not suffer themselves to be betray'd into a perpetual abjuring their Allegiance, or to be made Instruments for the Destruction of all they were engag'd to defend, but they will discern, that as they may be excus'd for having upon such specious Professions been misled by those, whom they might reasonably believe, (which hath been the Case of many honest Men) so after so pal-

pable

pable a Discovery of their wicked Purposes, they can only recover and preserve their Innocence and Credit by abhorring those, who having engag'd them to honest publick Ends, would now corrupt them to sacrifice their Bodies and Souls to their own private Lusts, Malice, and Ambitions: And they cannot forget that true Acknowledgment of the Lords and Commons in their Petition of the 14th of *December*, 1641. to the King, in which they say, *they acknowledge his Royal Favour and Protection to be a great Blessing and Security to them for the enjoying and preserving of all those publick and private Liberties and Privileges, which belong unto them.*

IF the People could be so mad; if their Fear, or their Folly prevail'd over them to submit to such a Settlement as these Declarers would devise for them, there are not ten of them, whose Names are known to the Kingdom, who do know and are agreed what kind of Government they would establish in Church or State: Their Fears and Jealousies with which they delighted themselves, are now grown real Diseases, and take away their Sleep from them; so that setting aside the peace of Conscience, which they contend not for, there is not a Man amongst them enjoys that Assurance of outward Security, as the poor *Cavalier* does, whom they have robb'd and spoil'd of all that he hath, upon whom all their Pride and Plenty looks even with an Envy and Reverence: *Is not the Seat of the Image of Jealousy, which provoketh to Jealousy,*

Ezek. 8. 3.

(as

(as it was in *Ezekiel's Vision*) in the Gate that looketh toward the North? And do they not every Day look to be destroy'd by those, by whose assistance they have been enabled almost to destroy their Country?

THEY have not a Foundation of Credit to be trusted or believed at home or abroad, having not only broken all Obligations Divine and Human, but publish'd such a Contempt of those Obligations, that they are not henceforth capable of any Trust; for how can they be believ'd upon Oaths (which are the most solemn Bonds between Men, when they are lawfully entered into) when they make Glosses and Interpretations upon them to serve their Turns, directly contrary to the Letter and Words of the Oath; And if they cannot evade them that way, call them *Almanacks of the last Year, and so out of date to direct them?* When they with whom they have enter'd into Treaties, and the most fast League could be devised, and to whom they have oblig'd themselves never to transact any Matter of publick Concernment to the Kingdom without their Concurrence, shall be told (after they have rais'd them to the pitch they are now at) that *they have nothing to do, to assent, or dissent, attest or protest concerning any Thing they shall think fit to establish in this Kingdom, either for the Government of Church or State?* Nay, when they shall be told, that it is no more Manners in them to press their Advice and insist upon it, than it would be in the same

Mart. In-
de. p. 11.

Decl. con-
cerning
the Scots
Papers,
p. 62.

Mart. In-
de. p. 7.

same number of Spaniards, Indians, or the most remote Region of the Earth; and that so long as they needed their Assistance, they might have occasion to give them meetings now and then, whereas now since they are able to protect themselves, they may surely be sufficient to teach themselves to go about their own Business?

IT will be necessary to add, that in all their Transactions at home, to which they have applied the Publick Faith, they have not only not performed the Contracts they have made, but resolved at the Time when they made them, not to observe them, as appears by the Order of June 2d, 1646. by which the House of Commons resolved, *That all Persons that have or shall come and reside in the Parliament Quarters, shall take the National League and Covenant, and the Negative Oath, notwithstanding any Articles that have been or shall be made by the Souldiery: And so they did not only break the Articles formerly made upon the Surrender of Exeter and other Places, but by virtue of this Order, which could not be known to the Persons concern'd, they evaded those made afterwards upon the Surrender of Oxford, which were confirmed by themselves; of which a principal Article was, that no Man should be compelled to take any Oath during the Time he was allowed to stay in London, or at his own House, or where he pleased, which was for the space of Six Months after the Surrender.*

Col. ord.
2 vol. p.
889.

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As upon these, and infinite other Reasons, the Affections and Hearts of the People are quite aliened from the Parliament, so they are, with an equal Vigour, recover'd and converted to the King, and a full reverence to his sacred Person (the want of which may be held justly the primary Cause of all our Evils, and the advancement of all our Distractions) and an ample Acknowledgment of his Princely Wisdom, and unparallel'd Constancy is confessed to be due to him; And by his truly magnanimous Carriage during the Time of his Restraint, when all Persons have been removed from him, who are either inclined to his Person, or Rights, out of their Duty and Allegiance, or to his Opinions out of Judgment and Understanding; by his unshaken Constancy, in not being moved from his great Principles, with all their Promises, and all their Threats successively administred to him; by the sharpness and steadiness of his Understanding, with which, upon all Occasions, and in all Discourses with the Commissioners who attended him, he hath demonstrated the Impiety in Point of Religion; the Injustice in Point of Law; the Unreasonableness in Point of Policy, even in relation to themselves, of all that they have proposed to him in order to Peace, with such a clearness of Judgment, and such a candidness of Nature, that some of their own Ministers, not of the softest and gentlest Constitutions, have been forced to their Disadvantage, to publish his wonderful Abilities:

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All Men acknowledge that whatsoever hath been wisely said, or prosperously done throughout the managery of his great Affairs, hath proceeded from his own Virtue and Conduct; and that all the ill Successes, and Oversights, which have preceded and caused those ill Successes, were the Effects of the Unadvisedness, Unskilfulness, and Passion of his Counsellors and Ministers.

AND that the King's great Virtue had, and would have this great Influence upon the People, the Army well knew, when (to indear and ingratiate themselves after the taking of his Majesty from *Holmby*) they declar'd in their Remonstrance of the 23^d of *June* from *St. Albans*,

Decl. and
Papers of
the Army,
p. 64.

That whereas there had been scandalous Informations presented to the Houses, and industriously publish'd in Print, importing as if his Majesty were kept as a Prisoner amongst them, and barbarously and uncivilly used; they said, they could not but declare, that the same, and all other Suggestions of that sort, were most false and scandalous, and absolutely contrary not only to their declar'd Desires, but also to their Principles, which are most clearly for a general Right and just Freedom to all Men; and therefore upon this Occasion, (they say) they cannot but declare particularly, that they desire the same for the King, and others of his Party; and they further clearly professed, that they did not see, how there could be any Peace to this Kingdom, firm or lasting, without a due Consideration of, and Provision for the Rights

Rights, Quiet, and Immunity of his Majesty's Royal Family and his late Partakers ; And their General by his Letter of the 8th of July to the Speaker, which was as soon printed as sent, freely acquainted them, that their Army had made many Addresses to the King, to desire his Majesty's free Concurrence with the Parliament, for establishing and securing the common Rights and Liberties, and settling the Peace of the Kingdom : And to assure him, that the Publick being so provided for, with such his Majesty's Concurrence, it was fully agreeable to all their Principles, and should be their Desires and Endeavour, That (with and in such settling of the Publick) the Rights of his Majesty's Royal Family should be also provided for, so as a lasting Peace and Agreement might be settled in this Kingdom ; And that as they have formerly declared for the same in general Terms, so (if Things came to a way of Settlement) they should not be wanting (in their Sphears) to own that general Desire in any Particulars of natural or civil Right to his Majesty's Person or Family, which might not prejudice, or again indanger the Publick : By which gawdy Professions, together with the Admission of such Servants and Chaplains to attend his Majesty whom he desir'd, and which had been barbarously deny'd by the Houses (who were by this time so sensible of their Error, as they desir'd his Majesty's Presence amongst them upon his own Conditions) they raised themselves to that Credit with the King's Party, with the

Ib. p. 74.

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City

City of *London*, and universally with the People, that by this Stratagem only, they grew able and powerful enough to confine him to *Carisbrook-Castle*, and to proceed since as they have done: And surely when the Army hath thoroughly weigh'd and consider'd the huge Advantages they have gotten by those Professions and Protestations, and how far they have been from making the same good to the King, they will not suffer themselves to be made a stalking Horse to the vile Ends of particular Persons, nor let their *Moral Righteousness*, in which they so much triumph, to grow into a Proverb, for the highest and most unworthy Craft, *Hypocrisy*, and *Treachery*.

It remains now, since by any Endeavours of these Men, sever'd from the return to their Duty and Allegiance, it is not possible for them to establish any Peace or Happiness to the Kingdom, or Security to themselves, to persuade them, that by doing at last the Duty of Christians, they may not only preserve their Country, which no Body can doubt, but they may be superiour to any Difficulties and Hazard, their Guilt suggests they shall be liable to.

IT is yet in their Power so absolutely to make the King's Restoration their own Work, that his Majesty may be oblig'd even in Point of Gratitude to acknowledge it, and to remember only by whose Fidelity he hath recover'd what he had lost, and not by whose Fault he lost it; and his Party, (who for Conscience sake
have

have lost all) know that Charity is so fundamental a Duty of a Christian, that there is no Excuse for the least Degree of Animosity and Revenge, let the Injuries they have receiv'd be never so great; and the King's own Experience of Men hath sufficiently inform'd him, that as many of good Inclinations have, by Inadvertency and Credulity, been cozened into a Combination against him, and it may be, the worst of them grown by degrees worse than they intended to be; so all who have seem'd to follow a good Cause, are not good Men, but had Ends as ill as they, whom they opposed, and therefore all mention and memory of former Errors being blotted out, it may be presum'd he will trust and employ all his good Subjects, according to their several Faculties and Abilities, without remembering how they have been at any time disposed against him; and they have reason to believe, that whatsoever his Majesty shall freely consent to, he will most religiously observe, and cause all others to observe it: Let them therefore seasonably enter into a Treaty with his Majesty, attended with such of his Council as he shall chuse; and let the fullest Articles be agreed upon, which may give a mutual assurance of Security to all Persons and Interests, to which his Majesty having given his Assent in such manner as shall be desir'd, all his Council and Ministers of Justice throughout the Kingdom, may be solemnly sworn to those Articles; the which being done, and the

same confirm'd by such an Act; and in that manner pass'd as they shall conclude may be valid: Let this unhappy Parliament be dissolved, an Intermission of Parliament being at this time more necessary for the Vindication of the Justice and Laws of the Kingdom, and restoring a happy Peace, than ever a Convention of Parliament was for the Reformation and Removing of Grievances.

To conclude, unreasonable and unjust Propositions may continue the War, and the Distractions; never make a Peace, which is nothing, but the Liberty to enjoy what in Justice and Right is our due; and as long as the World lasts, that Answer of the Ambassador from *Privernum* to the Senate of *Rome*, will be found to be Reason, who when he was asked what Peace the *Romans* might depend upon with them, (because they had been guilty of some Defection) answered, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam, & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam*; which that wise Senate confessed to be an honest Answer, and that it was madness to believe any People or private Person *in eâ conditione, cujus eum pœniteat, diutiùs quàm necesse sit mansurum*: Let us then (like *English Men*) make up the Breach ourselves have made, and let not our Country and Posterity owe their Redemption to any Foreign Power; but let us prostrate ourselves at the Feet of our abused Sovereign, with that hearty Acknowledgment and Testimony which the King of *Tyre* sent to *Solomon*: Be-
cause

Liv. li. 8.
21.

2 Chron.
2. 11.

cause the Lord hath loved his People, he hath made thee King over them : To a profane, dissolute and licentious People, he hath given the most pious and temperate King, to recover and reform them by his Example ; and to a wicked and rebellious People, the most gentle and merciful King to preserve them by his Goodness : But, if they sin wilfully after that they have received the Knowledge of the Truth, there remaineth no more Sacrifice for Sins, but a certain fearful looking for of Judgment, and fiery Indignation, which shall devour the Adversaries,



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case the Lord hath loved his People, he hath
made thee King over them: To a private, dissolute
and licentious People, he hath given the most
pious and temperate King, to recover and re-
form them by his Example; and to a wicked
and rebellious People, the most gentle and mer-
ciful King to preserve them by his Goodness:
And if they be willing after that they have
received the Knowledge of the Truth, there is
nothing so rare as to find a King, but a certain
fearful looking for of Judgment, and they in
dignation, which shall remove the wickedness.





THE
Difference and Disparity
 BETWEEN THE
 ESTATES and CONDITIONS
 OF

George Duke of BUCKINGHAM and Robert
 Earl of ESSEX.

*Written by the Earl of CLARENDON in his
 younger Days.*



HO' it may seem an unseasonable
 Itch of Wit to say any Thing on
 this Subject; and an unskilful one,
 if Invention reach not what has al-
 ready been deliver'd with all the swelling Elo-
 gies usually attending the Productions of that
 Pen; yet I shall presume (saying only their Va-
 nities, and that they were both glorious in the

* Allu-
 ding to Sir
 Henry
 Wooton,
 who wrote
 a Parallel
 between
 the Duke
 of Buck-
 ingham
 and the E.
 of Essex.

Eyes of their Princes) to think, that in the severest Considerations of their Persons, in their Educations, in their Insinuations into Favour, in managing that Favour, they were as distant, as unfit, as impossible for *Parallels*, as any two vertuous and great Persons (they both being such) we can direct our Discourse to. Their Ingagements, Incumbrances, and Disadvantages, being so different, that it was, and still continues, the just Wonder of the World, that the Earl, whose whole Fate being in the Discretion of his own Soul, cou'd ever fall; and the Duke, who all his Life of Favour, stood the Mark shot at by the most petulant and malicious Spirits this Climate ever nourish'd, could stand so long.

H E that shall walk in a short Survey of both their Times, Actions and Dependencies, shall find them these.

T H O U G H the first approach of the Earl to Court, was under the Shadow of the great Earl of *Leicester*, yet he ow'd rather his Invitation to him, than his Preferment there.

F O R, no question he found Advantage from the Stock of his Father's Reputation; the People looking on his Quality with Reverence, (being the only young Nobleman that had yet surpriz'd their Hopes, or drawn their Eyes) and on his youth with Pity; for they were nothing satisfy'd concerning his Father's Death, who had been advanced to honourable Dangers by the Mediation of such as delighted not in his
Com-

Company ; as it was the mysterious Wisdom of those Times to poyson with Oyl, & *homines per Honores ferire*. And if there were not any such Compassion in the Queen, yet surely she beheld him as the Son of an excellent Man, that dy'd in her Service, and had left a precious Fame surviving.

IN the Court he stay'd not above a Year, before he undertook that Journey into the *Low-Countries* with his Father-in-law ; and went General of the Horse in a great Army, tho' he was not full nineteen Years of Age, there being then no such Criticisms as interpreted the acceptance or pursuit even of the greatest Dignity and Command, a Conspiracy against the State ; but all Men were glad to see him set himself so brave a Task, by undertaking such an Employment.

FROM this first Action he took a Charter of the Peoples Hearts, which was never cancel'd ; but as if they had look'd only on the Boldness, not the Success of his Enterprizes, he was sure to return with Triumph, tho' the Voyage miscarried : For, amongst all his Foreign Undertakings, if they be weigh'd in the Peoples usual Scale, the Cost, tho' there was not above one or two prosperous Returns, and as many that had sad and calamitous Issues ; ye he never suffer'd the least publick Imputation or Murmur ; but was receiv'd with that Joy, as if the Fleet or Army were sent out to bring him Home, not
any

any Spoil or Conquest, to which he had wholly dedicated his Faculties.

HE moved only in his proper Orb; out of it he was *extra Spheram activitatis*, being a Man rather of more Business, than Dexterity above others; and one likewise, towards whom the Queen had directed some Rays of Affection.

SURELY, I by no Means imagine him built or furnish'd for a Courtier.

FOR, however the Arts and Mysteries of a Court are undefinable, yet as in the Reformation and Improvement of all Sciences, there are certain Principles and Maxims unalterable and unquestionable, so there is a certain Comparity, Conformity, and Complacency in the Manners, and a discreet Subtilty in the Composition, without which, (as with those Principles) no Man in any Age or Court shall be eminent in the *Aulical* Function.

NOW, how ill the Earl was read in this Philosophy, his Servant *Cusse* (whose Observations were sharp enough, whatever Stoicisms raved in his Nature) well discerned, when he said, *Amorem & odium semper in fronte gessit, nec celare novit.*

AND I shall not impute it to his want of *Will*, (tho' that would be but an ill Argument, for his Courtship) nor of *Power*, for he did many greater Things; but only of Skill to contrive Conveniences of Honours and Preferments at Court, for such Friends as might have been good

good Out-works to have fortify'd and secur'd his own Condition, except all his Dependants were of another Complexion than could have lived in that Air.

AND indeed, I do not find that the Earl was much inclined to, or desired the Reputation of a Courtier, except for the Preservation of himself, and the Queen's Affection, which yet he endeavoured rather to master, than to win; but he seemed, though he had such Places of Honour and Attendance, as be the most significant Badges of a Courtier, *in pace belli gerere negotium*, and retired only from the War to prevent Peace.

THEN if we visit his Correspondencies abroad, which he rather maintained out of State, than contrived out of Skill, we shall see they were always with an Eye upon Actions, and his Intelligences had ever some hint of Tumult and Commotion; as, if the King of *Spain* was loud or frantick at his Devotions; as, when he vowed at *Mafs*, that he would be reveng'd of *England*, though he sold all those Candlesticks upon the Altar: This Information was given by the Earl. But it was observed then, that if there were ought intended against the Life or Person of the Queen, though it were in the Court of *Spain* where the Earl had especially his Leigers, the first Notice came over by my Lord *Cecil*, for whom indeed, it seemed as necessary there should be Treasons, as for the State, that they should be prevented: Infomuch, as it was then, how unjustly soever conceived, that tho' he created
none,

none, yet he fomented some Conspiracies, that he might give frequent Evidences of his Loyalty, having no other Advantage (as the Earl and others had in Person) to justify him in an ordinary Estimation, but by eminent Services.

AND those he knew must be best relished, that concerned her own Preservation; and therefore in the least Vacations from Treasons, he was ever busy to set on foot some vigilant and tender Law (as there was scarce any Parliament, without some such) that had a peculiar Eye to the Queen's Safety. Which, however, they are by such as cannot apprehend the Danger of those Times, looked upon without much Reverence, could not but make singular Impression in the Queen's Heart of his Fidelity.

THE Incumbrances that the Earl had to wrestle withal (for I shall only look over his Life without particular Enquiry into his Actions, which had all glorious Ends, or glorious Intentions) were fewer than ever any great Man ever met withal, and his Advantages more in number, and in Weight.

'TIS true, he was rivall'd by a strong and subtle Faction, which cared and consulted for his Ruin, as a Foundation they must build upon; and were intent to betray him abroad, and misinterpret him at home: Yet the Danger was thus allay'd, that they were all his publick and professed Enemies, and so known to the Queen, that they durst never impertinently urge ought against him, since they were sure their Malice was concluded

cluded, when the Reason of their Objection happily might not be considered.

AND indeed, that Trick of countenancing and protecting Factions (as that Queen almost her whole Reign did, with singular and equal Demonstrations of Grace, look upon several Persons of most distinct Wishes one towards another) was not the least Ground of much of her Quiet and Success. And she never doubted, but that Men that were never so opposite in their good Will each to others, or never so dishonest in their Projectments for each others Confusion, might yet be reconciled into their Allegiance towards her. Infomuch, that during her whole Reign, she never endeavoured to reconcile any personal Differences in the Court, though the unlawful Emulations of Persons of nearest trust about her, were even like to overthrow some of her chiefest Designs. A Policy seldom entertained by Princes, especially if they have Issues to survive them.

AMONG the Advantages the Earl had (and he had many, that will distinguish him from any Man that hath, or is likely to succeed him) I shall rank the Nature and the Spirit of that Time in the first Place. For I shall not mention his Interest in the Queen's Favour, till the last, which shall appear greatest by the Circumstances that lost it.

'T WAS an ingenuous un-inquisitive Time, when all the Passions and Affections of the People, were lapped up in such an innocent and humble Obedience, that there was never the least Contestations

stations, nor Capitulations with the Queen; nor though she very frequently consulted with her Subjects, any further Reasons urged of her Actions, than her own Will.

W H E N there were any Grievances, they but reverently conveyed them to her Notice, and left the Time and Order of the rest, to her Princely Discretion. Once they were more importunate and formal in pursuing the Complaints of the Purveyors for Provision, which without Question was a crying and an heavy Oppression: The Queen sent them word, they all thought themselves wise enough to reform the Misdemeanours of their own Families, and wish't that they had so good Opinion of her, as to trust her with her Servants too. I do not find that the Secretary, who delivered this Message, receiv'd any Reproach or Check, or that they proceeded any further in their Inquisition. In this excellent Time the Queen's remarkable Grace endeared the Earl to the Regard of the People, which he quickly improved to a more tender Estimation; neither was this Affection of theirs ever an Objection against him, till he himself took too much Notice of it; for the Queen had ever loved her People without the least Scruple of Jealousie, nor was ever offended, if he was the Darling of their Eyes, till she suspected he inclined to be the Darling of their Hearts.

I N his Friendships he was so fortunate, that though he contracted with ancient Enemies, and such as he had undeserved by some unkindness

ness, as grievous as injurious, it is not known, that ever he was betrayed in his Trust, or had ever his Secrets derived unhandsomly to any Ears, that they were not intended to: And this, if he had not planted himself upon such, whose Zeal to his Service was more remarkable than their other Abilities, would have preserved him from so prodigious a Fate.

Lastly, H E had so strong an Harbour in the Queen's Breast, that notwithstanding those dangerous Indiscretions of committing himself in his Recreations and Shooting-matches, to the publick View of so many thousand Citizens, which usually flocked to see him, and made, within the reach of his own Ears, large Acclamations in his Praise; notwithstanding his receiving into his Troop of Attendance, and under that Shadow, bringing into the Court divers Persons not liked by the Queen, and some that had been in Prison for Suspicion of Treason, as Captain *Wainman*; and then his glorious Feather-Triumph, when he caused two thousand Orange-tawny Feathers, in despite of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to be worn in the Tilt-yard, even before her Majesty's own Face (all which would have found Regret in the Stomachs of most Princes;) yet neither these, nor any Whispers, that were distill'd into the Queen's Ears (for ought appears) even lessened him in her Highness's Regard, till he committed such strange Mistakes, as ever have been prosecuted with most exemplary Punishments by the Laws themselves; which, tho'
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in jealousy of Princes, they oft compound Treasons out of Circumstances and Possibilities, yet are as tender of the Reputation of great Men, as in any Common-wealth whatsoever.

IF toward his Period, the Queen grew a less merciful Interpreter of his Failings and Successes; 'twas when she believed he grew too familiar, and in love with his Passions, and had a Mind not to be satisfied but upon his own Conditions, and too insensible of his own Errors. And truly, though that would not be unfitly applyed to him, that was once said of the terrible *Mountford* Earl of *Leicester*, in the Reign of *Henry the Third*; *that he had a Spirit too great for a Subject*; yet nothing can be more horrible to me than the Petulancy of that Wit, which, for an unhandsome Jest would accuse him of a purpose to be King; being doubtless in his solemn Purposes of a firm and unshaken Allegiance. For besides that he look'd from above, and with a Displeasure, that had a mixture of Scorn more than Anger, upon such as courted not his Protection, his Talk was in an high and unusual Dialect; he took much delight to discover an hatred (like a Contempt) of the King of *Spain*; and would often mention his Person, as familiarly as *Luther* did our *Henry the Eighth*; and as *Fox* begins his Book against the Pope, with the first Lines of *Tully's* Oration against *Cataline*, *Quosque tandem*, &c. so he would write in his ordinary Letters, and publish in his Apology, *I will teach that proud King to know*, &c. Which sounded possibly

bly not so acceptable to the Queen her self, who, though she were perfect enough in her dislike to that King, thought, that the greatest Subjects ought not to approach the Infirmities, or the Mention of any King without some Reverence. And the Earl in his Zeal to the *Hollanders* (when the great Design was to mediate a Truce between *Spain* and them, and almost the whole Council-board inclin'd that way) would not only in the Violence of his Opposition shew a Dislike to the Insolency and Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, but of the very Government of a Monarchy.

THEN his Carriage towards the Queen her self was very strange, and his usual Converse upon too bold Terms, which proceeded not from any Distemper but his Passions, though natural Choler be but an unruly Excuse for Roughness with Princes: Yet 'twas a Way (I know not upon what unlucky Success) he had from the beginning fancied, and lasted even to his End. Inasmuch, as upon his first Restraint, which was not many Months before his Conclusion, he did somewhat Neglect the Queen's Pardon, because it came not accompanied with a new Grant of his Lease of the Farm of sweet Wines, which was then near expired; though she intimated to him, that she only deferred that Grace upon the Physician's Maxim: *Corpora impura, quo magis pascas, laeseris.*

Lastly, IF ever that uncouth Speech fell from him to the Queen, which is delivered to us by

one that was much conversant then in the Secrets of the Court, *that she was as crooked in her Disposition, as in her Carcass*, (when haply there was a little unevenness in her shoulders) all my Wonder at his Destruction is taken from me ; and I must needs confess, I am nothing satisfied with that loose Report, which hath crept into our Discourse, that shortly after his miserable End, (which indeed deserved Compassion from all Hearts) I know not upon what unreasonable Delivery of a Ring or Jewel by some Lady of the Court, the Queen expressed much Reluctancy for his Death. I am sure no Discovery, no Expression, either to his Memory, Friends, or Dependants, can weigh down the Indignity of the Sermon at *Paul's Cross*, and set out by Command, or that Discourse that was so carefully commended abroad of his Treasons ; which were two of the most pestilent Libels against his Fame, that any Age hath seen published against any Malefactor, and could not with that Deliberation have been contrived, and justified by Authority, had not there been some Sparks of Indignation in the Queen that were unquenched even with his Blood.

'Tis time to call my self homewards to the View of those Considerations, in which will clearly appear the inequality of the Duke's Condition, to what hath been said of the Earl ; and it may be I have been at my Distance, too bold
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an undertaker of these Actions, which were performed so many Years before my Cradle.

I shall not much insist on the Duke's Morning, being so different from that of the Earl's, as would discountenance all Purposes of bringing them into one Circle; he had no Satisfaction in his Friendships, or Pretence in his Quality, but was his own Harbinger at Court. For tho' the Herald may walk in as large a Field of his Pedegree, as shall concern any Subject, yet that being no In-let to his Advancements, or Occasion of his Favour, I shall leave to such as shall have the Preferment to write his Life. 'Tis true, that soon after his Approach was found to be acceptable, and that he was like enough to be entertained by him that had most Power to bid him welcome; he received pretty Conveniences from the Respects of some great Men, which at most (being as much out of Disaffection to others as Tenderness to him) yeilded him rather Assistance, than Support; so that indeed he was (if ever any) *Faber fortunæ suæ*: And all such as will not be impudent strangers to the discerning Spirit of that King who first cherished him, cannot but impute it to a certain innate Wisdom and Virtue that was in him, with which he surprized, and even fascinated all the Faculties of his incomparable Master. He was no sooner admitted to stand there in his own Right, but the Eyes of all such, as either look'd out of Judgment, or gazed out of Curiosity, were quickly directed

directed towards him, as a Man, in the Delicacy and Beauty of his Colour, Decency and Grace of his Motion, the most rarely accomplished they had ever beheld; whilst some that found Inconveniences in his nearness, intended by some Affront to discountenance his Effeminacy, till they perceived he had masked under it so terrible a Courage as would safely protect all his Sweetnesses.

AND now he quickly shewed the most glorious Star that ever shone in any Court; in-somuch that all Nations prosecuted him with Love and Wonder, as fast as the King with Grace; and to his last he never lost any of his Luster.

HIS Swiftness and Nimbleness in rising may be with less Injury ascribed to Vivacity, than any Ambition in his Nature; since it is certain the King's eagerness to advance him, so surprized his Youth, that he seemed only to submit his Shoulders, without resistance, to such Burdens as his Highness would be pleased to lay on him; and rather to be held up by the violent Inclination of the King, than to climb up by any Art or Industry of his own; yet once seated, he would not affront that Judgment that raised him, by an unseasonable Diffidence of himself, but endeavoured with an understanding Boldness to manage those Employments which his Modesty would never suffer him to court.

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DURING the Reign of his first Master, I cannot but say, he enjoyed an indifferent Calm in his Fortune and Favour; for though there were some boisterous Interruptions by the Clamour of the People, yet shortly again their Affections were as violent, and almost as senseless, toward him, as ever their Accusations were before or after; insomuch as the chief Rulers among them performed frequent Visits to him, when he was somewhat diseased in his Health, and out of a zealous Care of him, would have begot in him some Jealousy, that his Physicians and nearest Attendants about him, being perhaps of the same Religion with the King of *Spain*, had a Purpose by Poison to revenge some Injuries these People had conceived in the Right of that Nation. And here the Fortunes of our great Personages met, when they were both the Favourites of their Princes, and Darlings of the People. But their Affections to the Duke, were but very short liv'd.

AND now 'tis seasonable to say somewhat of the Disposition and Spirit of this Time, since the disparity of those we treat of, will be in that discerned; and the Earl be found by so much to have the Advantage, that there will be little need of conferring the Particulars of their Lives. 'Twas a busie querulous forward Time, so much degenerated from the Purity of the former, that the People, under Pretences of Reformation, with some petulant Discourses of Liberty, which their great Im-

postors scattered among them, like false Glasses to multiply their Fears, began *abditos principis Recessus, & quid occultius parat exquirere*; extended their Enquiries even to the Chamber and private Actions of the King himself, forgetting that Truth of the Poet, — *Nusquam Libertas gratior extat, — quam sub Rege pio*: 'Twas strange to see how Men afflicted themselves to find out Calamities and Mischiefs, whilst they borrowed the Name of some great Persons to scandalize the State they lived in: A general Disorder throughout the whole Body of the Common-wealth; nay the vital Part perishing, the Laws violated by the Judges, Religion profaned by the Prelates, Heresies crept into the Church and countenanced; and yet all this shall be quickly rectified without so much as being beholden to the King, or consulting with the Clergy.

SURELY had *Petronius* now lived, he would have found good Cause to say, *Nostra regio tam presentibus plena est numinibus, ut facilius possis deum quam hominem invenire*. For my Part, whether the frenzy was nourished in the warm Breasts of young Men who are commonly too much in love with their own Time, to think it capable of Reformation; or whether it was fomented by riper Heads, that had miscarried in their Propositions of Advancement, and were violent in the Successes of Queen *Elizabeth*; or whether it was only the Revolution of Time that had made them

them unconcerned in the loyal Fears that governed sixty Years since, I shall not presume to guess; but shall rather wish for the Spirit and Condition of that Time, as he did for Wars and Commotions, *Quoniam acerbissima Dei flagella sunt, quibus hominum pertinaciam puniunt, ea perpetua oblivione sepelienda, potius quam memorie mandanda esse.*

KING James being no sooner dead, but such as had from his Beginning impertinently endeavoured to supplant him, and found that he was so deeply rooted in his Sovereign's Acceptance, that there should be no shaking him with clamorous Objections, found some Means to commend over his Condition and transcendent Power, as they termed it, as a Matter of publick Consequence to the People; and from this Instant to his fatal End, he stood as it were opposed, notwithstanding all the Shelter of the Sovereign's Regard, to all the Calumnies and Obloquies the impudent Malice of the Rabble could fling on him; and in all their Pretences of Reformation, as if their End were only his Shame, not Amendment, they rather cudgel than reprehend him. Of this wild Rage (not within the main Purpose of an Apology) I shall give one or two Instances, insisting on them only as they were mentioned in the indigested Noise of the People, not as they were marshalled with other Employments in any publick Declaration or Remonstrance.

T H E R E were two Errors chiefly laid to his Charge, and so eagerly urged, that in them he was almost concluded an Enemy to the King and Country; which certainly in the next Age will be conceiv'd marvellous strange Objections; the one being a strong Argument of his Worth, the other a Piece of its Reward: The first was the Plurality of Offices, tho' they were immediately conferred on him by the King, or else such as he was promoted to by his Majesty's own Allowance, and, of which, there was no Condition, but his Majesty was a Witness, if not a Surety, for the Performance; and yet for the Execution of them, never Man study'd more to apt himself, nor descended to meaner Arts, to give general Content. And here, possibly, it concerned his Mirth, to see his Ambition prosecuted of some who desir'd to ease him of this Guilt by undertaking his Trust.

T H E other was the Preferment of his Kindred, upon whom his Majesty, delighting to give all gracious Expressions of his Affection to the Duke, would (to enliven any Branch that grew from the same Stock) confer both Honour and Living. And this surely had so little signification of Offence in the Duke's Conscience, that he thought he should have sinned against the Law of Nature, and a generous Disposition, that it would have been an eternal Brand to his Name and Memory, if being so seized of this great King's Favour, he had no regard but to his own Advancement.

AND

AND 'tis not improbable, that his noble Care of his Family, confirm'd him in the estimation of his Master, who knew that all Fountains ought to bestow themselves upon their Neighbour-Brooks, and could have hoped for little Effects from his Service, whose Care was only directed for himself.

NOW whether the importunate Clamour upon these two Faults, whereof he found no Regret, but Comfort in himself, made him so to esteem of the popular Discretion and Honesty; or whether he esteemed it the same Ignominy to have his Allegiance exalted with Blasphemy, as (for attending the Prince out of *Spain*) he was call'd our *Redeemer*; or to have his Misfortunes mistaken into Disloyalty, when his Enterprizes succeeded not according to the impossible Expectation of the People; certain it is, that all his later Time he wholly neglected all compliance with them. 'Tis not unlikely he might wonder, that in all the scrutinous Enquiry for Reformation, there was never the least Blemish of dislike towards any great Man, but such as were in the immediate Regard and Estimation of the King: As if all Misdemeanours had been committed within the Verge of his Majesty's own Chamber.

I shall not confer any of these Particulars with the Earl. When the Noise of the People had remov'd him into Action from Court, which was his Orb, tho' he could not put off the Place, or rather the Title of Command, he
com-

committed himself a most willing Pupil to the Directions of such as were generally thought fit to manage Affairs of that Nature: And here it cannot be deny'd, but as he was a vigilant and observant Student in the contemplative Part, so he improved the Courage of the whole Army by his Example.

AND surely, there is no Cause to doubt, he would, in a short time, have made so glorious a Progress in his Profession, (however he seem'd shaped for easier Skirmishes) as the World should have seen that Promptness and Alacrity in his Nature, that could happily have travelled in any Path he could direct it, had he not been cut off by that execrable Treason, as makes all good Men tremble, and Posterity shall start at it: And had he not been marvellously secured in the Tranquility of his own Soul from any of that Guilt the Rabble had conferr'd on him, it had been no hard Matter to have fortify'd himself against the Knife of a Villain, tho' it were sharpen'd in the lewdest Forge of Revenge, the great Patron of Murther hath countenanc'd since the spilling of the first Blood. But he that was unsafe only in the greatness of his own Spirit, could not but be perswaded to wear any privy Coat, but that of a good Conscience, which he never put off. And the same Providence that convey'd him into Grace, with so different Marks from other Men, would not suffer him to fall, but by such a Fate as may determine all the Monarchies of the World;
and

and which had been seldom acted, but upon the most eminent and honourable Persons of their Times.

AND here again, he may be said to meet with the Earl, that they both dy'd by the People, tho' by very different Affections, which continu'd so preposterous, as Justice upon the One (for Justice is the Execution of the Law) was interpreted a Conspiracy; and Treason upon the Other, conceiv'd Religion; and yet one had the Royal Sacrifice of his Sovereign's Sorrow, which the other wanted.

IN contriving and contracting his Friendships, he was provident and circumspect enough, as may appear by those Marriages in which he linked his House; and in the Observation of them, he was so severe and real, as he wanted some of that, which is usually the Poyson of noble Minds, Suspicion; looking no further into the Affections of those he chose, than the Testimony of their own Hearts, though this Confidence sometimes was like to prove dangerous to him. And here the Earl had the Day too: For his Friends were Skreens between him and Envy, and his own Infirmities taken from him, and imposed on them; when the Duke was so far from that Ease, or being discharged from the Burthen that belong'd to them; that he was traduced with all the Mistakes of all his Friends, Kindred, and Dependants; as if he were the Mischievous Agent, they only improvident and surprized Instruments.

'TIS

'Tis true, they were neither of them much skill'd in that Paradox of Charity, *loving their Enemies*: And yet the Duke's easiness to Reconcilement, and too soon forgetting the Circumstances of Grudges, betray'd him often to the Injuries of such as had not the same Spirits.

CONCERNING the Parts and Endowments of his Mind, if the Consideration of Learning extend itself no further than Drudgery in Books, the Duke's Employments forbid to suspect him for any great Scholar: But if a nimble and fluent Expression, and Delivery of his Mind upon all Subjects, in a natural and proper Dialect, be consider'd, he was well Letter'd: A-but if he had that Eloquence of Nature or Art, I am sure he wanted that other Accident, the Pity and Benevolence of his Hearers; inso-much that his Words and Speeches were never entertain'd with that Candour or common Charity of Interpretation, as civilly belongs to all Delinquents: Witness that Speech in the fulness of his Joy, he let fall to his Majesty in the behalf of his People, which was immediately perverted and carpt at, as an Aggravation of his other imaginary and fantastick Offences.

HE was, besides, not only of an eminent Affection to Learning, in conferring Dignities and Rewards upon the most learned Men; either of which is seldom without Judgment; and he was the Governor in a Province of Learning, which was an Argument he consulted the People

People by, when he suffer'd himself to be chosen Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*, even at the Time when they had concluded his Destruction, as a Man odious to all Subjects.

IN his Liberalities and Rewards of those he fancy'd, he was so chearfully Magnificent, and so much at the Mercy of his Dependants, that if they prov'd improvident or immodest in their Suits, the Inconveniency and Mischief was surely his; insomuch as he seemed wholly possessed from himself, and to be only Great for their Use; and he had then so happy a Bravery in deriving of his Favours, and conferred them with so many noble Circumstances, that the Manner was as obliging as the Matter, and Mens Understandings oft-times as much puzzled as their Gratitude.

IF the Earl sided him here, his Bounty fell upon more unthrifty Men; for there are many Families owe their large Possessions only to the openness of the Duke's Hand, tho' much be lost too in the Ingratitude of the Receivers.

BUT that which shone with most Lustre in him, and which indeed flow'd in his Nature much above its proportion in other Men, was an admirable Affability and Gentleness to all Men. And this was the Pomp and Glory of all his Titles; insomuch as tho' his Memory were a Place so taken up with high Thoughts, and unlikely to have any room for Matters of so small Importance; he was ever known to entertain his younger Acquaintance with that Familiarity,

miliarity, as if they had been Stairs by which he ascended to his Greatness.

HE had, besides, such a Tenderneſs and Compaſſion in his Nature, that ſuch as think the Laws dead if they are not ſeverely executed, cenſured him for being too merciful; but his Charity was grounded upon a wiſer Maxim of State: *Non minus turpe Principi multa Supplicia; quàm Medico multa Funera.* And he believed, doubtleſs, that Hanging was the worſt Uſe Man could be put to.

AND now, methinks, to believe a Man dreſt in all theſe real Ornaments of Honour, could be an Enemy to the Publick, to his Country, is as ingenuous, as to believe a Man of a ſolemn Friendlineſs to ten Thouſand Men, and of a reſolved Hatred to Mankind at the ſame Time.

OF all Imputations, that was the moſt unſkilful, which accus'd him of a Purpoſe and Deſign to enrich himſelf. Certainly that was never in his Vows; and poſſibly the Auditors of his Revenues do not find his Eſtate ſo much increaſed from the Time of his firſt Maſter, tho' he enjoy'd a glorious Harveſt of almoſt four Years, which if it had been brought in to his own Uſe, could not but have made an envious Addition.

SINCE then, till their Evenings, theſe two great Perſons can hardly meet: Let not the Violence of their Deaths reconcile them, ſince the ſame Conſideration might as well unite the great King of France, and the Marſhal Byron,
and

and many others of more different Conditions.

HE that shall continue this Argument further, may haply begin his Parallel after their Deaths; and not unfitly: He may say, that they were both as mighty in Obligations as ever any Subjects, and both their Memories and Families as unrecompenced by such as they had raised. He may tell you of the Clients that burnt the Pictures of the one, and defaced the Arms of the other, lest they might be too long suspected for their Dependants, and find Disadvantage by being honest to their Memories. He may tell you of some that grew Strangers to their Houses, lest they might find the Track of their own Foot-steps, that might upbraid them with their former Attendance. He may say, that both their Memories shall have a reverend Savour with all Posterity, and all Nations. He may tell you many more Particulars, which I dare not do.



SOME

and many others of more different Condition.

one. He that shall compare this Argument with
their way haply begin his Paraphrase after their
Deaths; and not wisely: He may say, that
they were both as mighty in Obligations as ever
any Subjects, and both their Memories and Pa-
rties as uncorrupted by such as they had
visited. He may tell you of the Clients that
bought the Pictures of the one, and defaced the
Arms of the other, lest they might be too long
disputed for their Dependents, and find Disad-
vantage by being honest to their Memories. He
may tell you of some that grew Strangers to
their Houses, lest they might find the Track
of their own Foot-steps, that might upbraid
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verend Savour with all Posterity, and all Na-
tions. He may tell you many more Parti-
culars, which I dare not do.





SOME
OBSERVATIONS and REFLECTIONS,
OF THE
L. Chancellor CLARENDON,
ON
PERSONS *and the* TIMES,
ANTECEDENT to the
RESTORATION.

I Hope it is only Modesty in Mr. *Wren*,
that makes him pause upon underta-
king the Work, you have recom-
mended to him. For, I dare swear,
by what I have seen of his, he is very equal to
answer every Part of it; I mean every Part
that requires an Answer. Nor is there need
of a profess'd Divine to vindicate the Creation
T from

from making a Man a veryer Beast than any of those of the Field; or to vindicate Scripture from licentious Interpretation. I dare say he will find somewhat in Mr. *Hobbs* himself; I mean in his former Books, that contradicts what he sets forth in this, in that Part, in which he takes himself to be the most exact, his *beloved Philosophy*: And sure there is somewhat due to *Aristotle* and *Tully*, and to our Universities, to free them from his Reproaches; and 'tis high Time, if what I hear be true, that some Tutors read his *Leviathan*, instead of the others, to their Pupils. Mr. *Hobbs* is my old Friend; yet I cannot absolve him from the Mischief he hath done to the King, the Church, the Laws, and the Nation; and surely there should be enough to be said to the Politicks of that Man, who having resolv'd all Religion, Wisdom and Honesty into an implicit Obedience to the Laws establish'd, writes a Book of Policy, which, I may be bold to say, must be by the establish'd Laws of any Kingdom, or Province in *Europe*, condemn'd for impious and seditious; and therefore 'twill be very hard, if the Fundamentals of it be not overthrown. *

* From
a Letter
to Dr. Bar-
wick, da-
ted from
Brussels,
July 25.
1659.

IF it be now in your Power, I wish you would supply Sir *Theophilus Gilby*, (who is a very honest Man; and to whom Mr. *Thornton* can transmit the Favour) with twenty or thirty Pounds. And 'tis heartily wish'd, that out of such Monies, as are collected for charitable Uses,

Uses, Care might be taken of such Persons, who are in Misery in Prisons, for no other Crime than their Loyalty; and amongst such, I hear Sir Gervais Lucas is in Newgate in great Extremity; who has served the King very honestly. He is a very Melancholy Man, and very uneasy to himself; and therefore I wish, if you know any Body that is acquainted with him, that he should be a little refresh'd and comforted with Conversation; and that he should know the King is not without a sense of his Condition. I shall let his Majesty know to Morrow, of the 100 l. you have transmitted to Sir Thomas Bond. †

† From
a Letter to
the same,
dated as
before,
Nov. 28.
1659.

SINCE I writ this, I have receiv'd yours of the 16th, which should have come to me the last Week; and, by Letters of a later Date, I see so great a Change in all your Affairs, that I know not what to say. But if the Rump be re-establish'd, and with that Reputation and Triumph, it seems to carry with it, we have mistaken our Measures, and are, for the present, cast farther back, than we had reason to fear; and must look about us, till we can see more Light; but I have yet some Hope from the Temper of the City, which see their Slavery again at their Door, and from the Despair of Lambert, and those who have adher'd to him; of all which we shall see the Effects very quickly; as, I believe, you do at this Time see the utmost that can be expected from ei-

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ther.

ther. Give me leave, in a Word, before I conclude, to ask a Question concerning a young Gentleman, the Son of a good Father, Mr. *Wickham*, a Fellow of King's College in *Cambridge*. I have seen him, and he accidentally mention'd you, as a Person to whom he was well known, and seem'd to know that you hold Correspondence with me. I have never since heard from him, nor of him ; therefore, I pray, let me know what your Opinion is of him, and where he is. *

* From a Letter to the same, dated as before, Jan. 12. 1660.

IF my Lord *Mordaunt* be with you, you have receiv'd the King's Letters for your two Friends ; and I long very much to hear what they both think of *Monk* ; who, I hope, hath not with that Formality disclaim'd the King in the Head of every Regiment, as I hear, Sir *Arthur Haslerig* reports.

I should be glad to find, that our Friends in *Northamptonshire* have done themselves no Harm by their late Motions ; and that as many honest Men get into the House upon the new Elections, as is possible. These quick Resolutions, without a broken Head, do so astonish People abroad ; that if the *Rump* sit any Time without new Confusion, it will get Reputation abroad, and be acknowledg'd by their Neighbours, as a settled Republick. The King left an Acquittance with Sir *Thomas Bond* for 200 l. but since you desire a distinct Account for each Sum, I send them here to you ; and you may make

make use of the other, upon another Occasion.

I pray remember me kindly to Mr. *Cholmley*, as my good Friend, of whom I have great Esteem.

Grig. Palden laments his Condition to me, which I know not how otherwise to remedy, than by recommending him to you, as I have formerly done; presuming that when you have Money, you will assist him. *

* From
a Letter
to the same,
dated as
before,
Jan. 22,
1660.

I have heard much Good of Mr. *Cholmley*, and know well, that he is well known to the King and *Ormond*; and I shall be very glad, upon any Occasion to serve him, and to be acquainted with him, as I was well with his Father and his Uncle *Harry*, who, I hope, will yet prove right.

SIR *Theoph. Gilby* is a very honest, and a modest Man, and a good Officer. I have writ to my Lord *Mordaunt* to do somewhat for him, which I hope he will do; and, if you please, let the whole 20 *l.* be given to *Grig.* who complains too much of great Necessities. I do thank you, with all my Heart, for giving me an Opportunity to send my Service to *Clem. Spelman*, whom I know to be a very worthy Person, and whose Affections the King is oblig'd to reward; which he resolves to do. I pray remember my Service very kindly to him; and let him know, that I did receive the Books long since, with a very great Sense of the Obligation, and did return my Acknowledgment, by, at least, three several Letters to Dr. *Ryves*,

which, it seems, he never receiv'd. Pray know of him, whether his Father left no Advance in the *Glossary*.

I am very much taken with Mr. *Steward's* Case, and did hope that our last Letters would have brought us some News of the City's Resentment of it; but, I believe, they will avoid all sharp Expostulations, till they can make a clearer Judgment of *Monk's* Resolutions; of which, methinks, by yours of the 3^d, you seem still to retain some Hopes; and 'tis evident enough from his Carriage, that he is willing all Parties should retain a fair Hope of him. There is no doubt it is in his Power (if he be once well resolv'd) to make himself so strong, by a Conjunction with honest and worthy Men, that he need fear no Opposition; but may bring all to pass, that he can reasonably desire, or others desire from him; and he takes very ill Measures of his own Interest, if he does not believe, that it can be more advanc'd by his adhering to the King, and eminently promoting his Right, than by any other Course he can take; and, in Truth, that no other Advancement can be pleasant or lasting to him: But if he should prove so false and so foolish, as to give himself up to the Imagination of a Republick; I hope the good Spirit, that already appears throughout the whole Kingdom, will be heighten'd with Indignation and Obstinacy, to protest against a Submission and Subjection to such an extravagant and absurd Government, as
is

is now over them; and consequently refuse all Payments of Taxes and Impositions, and fill *Westminster-Hall* with Proceſs and Complaints to the Judges, for the Oppreſſions they ſuffer againſt Law: So that they may be not only without Hope of a ſolid Settlement, but may receive ſuch viſible Oppoſition, as may take away all Reputation with their Neighbours, of their being like to ſettle; and then will be Time for thoſe Presbyterian Pulpits, which would be thought to have any Principles of Allegiance, to diſcharge themſelves efficaciously.

I do not think the Number ſo very conſiderable of thoſe, who are entangled in that Guilt, that their Intereſt can continue, or ſupport the War, when the Nation ſhall diſcern, that there is nothing elſe keeps off the Peace. They, who have the greateſt Share in thoſe Spoils, are Perſons otherwiſe ſo irreconcilable, either by their villainous Reſolutions (as Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* and others) that no Overtures of that kind would work upon them, but would be turn'd into Reproach; and as the Number of thoſe is not ſo great, ſo the greatneſs of their Poſſeſſions makes them more Enemies than Friends, ſetting all other Guilt aſide. *

* From
a Letter to
the ſame,
dated as
before, Jan.
22d, 1660.

I ſee you are very apprehenſive of ſome miſchief by decyphering our Letters, which you impute to Art, as you have great Reason to do, if your Letters and others have been decyphered,

ed, as well as Mr. *Rumbald's*. I confes to you as I am sure no Copy could be gotten of any of my Cyphers from hence; so I did not think it probable, that they could be gotten on your side the Water. But I was as confident, 'till you tell me you believe it, that the Devil himself cannot decypher a Letter, that is well written, or find that 100 stands for Sir *H. Vane*. I have heard of many of the Pretenders to that Skill; but have found them all to be Mountebanks: Nor did I ever hear that more of the Kings Letters, that were found at *Naseby*, than those which they found decypher'd, or found the Cyphers in which they were writ, were decypher'd. And I very well remember, that in the Volume they publish'd there was much left in Cypher, which could not be understood; and which I believe they would have explain'd if it had been in their Power. *

* From a Letter to the same, dated as before, March the 8th, 1660.

I hope Dr. *Morley* is by this Time with you, and will joyn with you in the Business of the Church; of which I can say no more, but that I hope God Almighty will not put it in their Power, who care so little for it, to suffer it to expire. The King is very well pleas'd with the Account Mr. *Cholmley* hath given him; and is very confident of his Uncle: But when any Thing is to be done in *Yorkshire*, the King desires, that Mr. *Cholmley* would be there upon the Place, in Order to bring the

the Kings Friends into the Conjunction; and those of Inferiour Condition may, I suppose, appear at the Beginning; tho' the rest of the greater Quality may forbear, 'till the Season shall be judg'd ripe. My Lord *Langdale* is not in this Country, but retir'd to a Monastery in *Germany*, to live with more Frugality. I shall write to him, how much his Country-men desire him.

THE Presbyterians, and their Humours and Appetites, must be now so well known, that I hope no Arts or Artifices are omitted to dispose them, for their own Sakes, as much as is possible, to repair the Ruins they have made; and then the worst of them will be so contradicted and controlled by the best, that the Schism will appear. There are some of them, who have been eminent enough, when they were against us; who now either really are, or are willing to appear, converted as well to a Piety towards the Church, as a Loyalty towards the King. *

* From
a Letter
to the
same, da-
ted as a-
bove, A-
pril 2.
1660.

THE Prospect of your Affairs looks very well towards us; and I am persuaded, that MONK will, in the End, appear to have proceeded like a sober Man; and assure yourself, your Friend cannot be without a very good Acknowledgment, for contributing much towards that Temper; and whatever Jealousies there be among themselves, between the Civil and Martial Counsellors; I do not find, there is

is any of the last Classis, by whom *Monk* is like to be advised, or who are like to do him so much Service in the Army, as your two Friends are ; and therefore, I pray, continue your Interposition with them, with all the Encouragements that can be desir'd from the King, of which they may be most confident. And here I must not omit to tell you, that some Persons of unquestionable Affections, and of great Quality, have sent lately to the King, to make Propositions to him, of engaging Colonel *Clobery*, as a Person most able to do him Service with the General : They not imagining that we have any Knowledge or Communication with him ; nor do we pretend it, but seem to decline to write such Letters as they desire, out of an Apprehension, that he is of the Republican Party, and not to be wrought upon. This we think very necessary you should know, and, it may be, he himself ; lest it should be intimated to him, that there is an ill Opinion of him here ; which sometimes falls out by the weakness of our Friends ; when, to avoid some unseasonable Overture, or a more unseasonable Discovery, we seem to have Prejudice towards those, in whom we have most confided. *

* From
a Letter
to the
same, dated as
above, April. 16.
1660.

THE King is very glad, that there is so good an Understanding between *Monk* and your Friend ; and he hopes all will proceed hereafter without any Rubs, and that the Army will be reduced to a good Temper, both by putting

ting out ill Men, and by bringing in good. I am very glad, that Colonel *Venables* is Governor of *Chester*; of whose Affections the King hath not the least Doubt; yet I have thought to ask you a Question concerning him long, whether he be of the Independent Party in Point of Religion; which I have heard confidently averr'd by some, who have great Kindness for him, and Assurance of his Affection to the King, and together with that, a great Opinion of his Parts and Understanding, which, methinks, should hardly consist with the other. *

* From
a Letter
to the
same, da-
ted from
Breda, A
pril 22,
1660.



SOME

ring out ill Men, and by bringing in good Men
am very glad that Colonel Vane has been
not of Cheaper; of whole Affections the King
shall not the least doubt; yet I have thought
to ask you a Question concerning him long
whether he be of the Independent Party in
Point of Religion; which I have heard con-

stantly averr'd by some, who have great Kind-
ness for him, and Assurance of his Affection to
the King, and together with that a great Opi-
nion of his Parts and Understanding, which
should hardly consist with the o-
ther. I am, Sir, your humble servant,
1680.

Ed. L. L.

Anthony



SOME

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

L. Chancellor *Clarendon's*

SPEECHES

IN

PARLIAMENT.

*From a Speech to both Houses of (the Conventi-
on) Parliament. Sept. 13. 1660.*



F any Body here, or any where else,
be too much exalted with what he
hath done, or what he hath suffered,
and from thence thinks himself war-
ranted to reproach others, let him remember
the Story of *Nicephorus*; it is an excellent Story,
and

and very applicable to such Distempers ; he was a pious and religious Man, and for his Piety and Religion was condemned to the Fire : When he was led to Execution, and when an old Friend, who had done him Injury enough, fell at his Feet, and asked his Pardon, the poor Man was so elated with the Triumph he was going unto, with the Glory of Martyrdom, that he refused to be reconcil'd unto him ; upon which, he was disappointed of his End ; and for his Uncharitableness, the Spirit of God immediately forsook him, and he apostatized from the Faith.

LET all those who are too proud of having been, as they think, less faulty than other Men, and so are unwilling to be reconcil'd to those who have offended them, take heed of the Apostacy of *Nicephorus*, and that those Fumes of Envy and Uncharitableness, and Murmuring, do not so far transport and intoxicate them, that they fall into those very Crimes, they value themselves for having hitherto declined.

BUT, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, whilst we conspire together to execute faithfully this Part of the Bill, to put all old Names and Terms of Distinction into utter Oblivion, let us not find new Names and Terms to keep up the same, or a worse Distinction : If the old Reproaches of *Cavalier*, and *Roundhead*, and *Malignant*, be committed to the Grave, let us not find more significant and better Words, to signify worse Things

Things, let not Piety and Godliness grow into Terms of Reproach, and distinguish between the Court and the City, and the Country; and let not Piety and Godliness be measured by a Morosity in Manners, an Affection of Gestures, a new Mode and Tone of speaking; at least, let not our Constitutions and Complexions make us be thought of a contrary Party, and because we have not an affected Austerity in our Looks, that we have no Piety in our Hearts; very merry Men have been very godly Men, and if a good Conscience be a continual Feast, there is no Reason but Men may be merry at it.

THE Business of Religion is a sad Argument indeed; it is a Consideration that must make every religious Heart to bleed, to see Religion, which should be the strongest Obligation and Cement of Affection, and brotherly Kindness and Compassion, made now, by the perverse Wranglings of passionate and froward Men, the ground of all Animosity, Hatred, Malice and Revenge. And this unruly and unmanly Passion (which, no question, the Divine Nature exceedingly abhors) sometimes, and I fear too frequently, transports those who are in the Right, as well as those who are in the Wrong, and leaves the latter more excusable than the former, when Men, who find their Manners and Dispositions very conformable in all the necessary Obligations of human Nature, avoid one another's Conversation, and
grow

grow first unfociable, and then uncharitable to each other, because one cannot think as the other doth: And from this Separation we entitle God to the Patronage of, and concernment in, our Fancies and Distinction, and purely for his sake hate one another heartily.

IT was not so of old, when one of the most Ancient Fathers of the Church tells us, *That Love and Charity was so signal and eminent in the primitive Christians, that it even drew Admiration and Envy from their Adversaries. Vide (inquiunt) ut invicem se diligunt!* Their Adversaries, in that in which they most agreed in, their very Prosecution of them, had their Passions and Animosities amongst themselves; they were only Christians that loved, cherished and comforted, and were ready to die for one another. *Quid nunc illi dicerent Christiani, si nostra viderent tempora?* says the incomparable Grotius? How would they look upon our sharp and virulent Contentions in the Debates of Christian Religion, and the bloody Wars that have proceeded from those Contentions, whilst every one pretended to all the Marks which are to attend upon the true Church, except only that which is inseparable from it, *Charity to one another.*

* From a Speech to both Houses of the (Convention) Parliament, Dec. 29. 1660. Being the Day of their Dissolution.

* My Lords and Gentlemen,

G O D has enabled us to invert one Argument, which, I hope, may, to a good Degree, repair

repair the much Mischief it hath heretofore done: It hath been urg'd very unseasonably, yet successfully urg'd in the worst Times, that it was not Faith but Presumption, to expect that God would restore a Family, with which he seem'd to have a Controversy, and had humbled so far, that he would ever countenance a Party, that he had so much discountenanced, and almost destroy'd. We may now much more reasonably, and therefore, I hope, as effectually, press the Miracles that God Almighty hath lately wrought for King and People, as an Evidence that he will not again easily forsake them: We may tell those, who are using all their Endeavours to imbroid the Nation in new Troubles, that it is not probable, that a Nation against which God seem'd these late Years to have pronounced his Judgment, in the very Language of the Prophet: *Go ye swift Messengers to a Nation scatter'd and peel'd, to a People terrible from the Beginning hitherto, a Nation rooted out and trodden down, whose Land the Rivers have spoil'd: — The Lord hath mingled a perverse Spirit in the midst thereof.*

THAT he should reduce that Perverseness to the greatest Meekness and Resignation, that he should withdraw his Judgment from this Nation, and in a Moment restore it to all the Happiness it can wish, and to no other End, but to expose it to the Mercy and Fury of a few discontented Persons, the worst of the Nation, is not easy to be believ'd.

U

W E

WE may tell those who still contrive the Ru-
 in of the Church, the best, and the best re-
 formed Church in the Christian World ; re-
 formed by that Authority, and with those Cir-
 cumstances as a Reformation ought to be made,
 that God would not miraculously have snatch'd
 this Church as a Branch out of the Fire, would
 not have rais'd it from the Grave, after he had
 suffer'd it to be bury'd so many Years, by the
 boisterous Hands of profane and sacrilegious
 Persons, under its own Rubbish, to expose it
 again to the same Rapine, Reproach and Im-
 piety : That Church which delights itself in
 being call'd Catholick, was never so near Expi-
 ration, never had such a Resurrection : That so
 small a Pittance of Meal and Oil should be suf-
 ficient to preserve and nourish the poor Wi-
 dow and her Family so long, is very little more
 miraculous, than such a Number of pious, lear-
 ned, and very aged Bishops, should so many
 Years be preserved in such wonderful Streights
 and Oppressions, until they should plentifully
 provide for their own Succession : That after
 such a deep Deluge of Sacrilege, Prophaneness
 and Impiety, had cover'd, and, to common Un-
 derstanding, swallow'd it up, that that Church
 should again appear above the Waters, God be
 again serv'd in that Church, and serv'd as he
 ought to be ; and that there should be still some
 Revenue left to support and encourage those
 who serve him ; nay, that many of those who
 seem'd to thirst after that Revenue, 'till they had
 pos-

possess'd it, should conscienciously restore what they had taken away, and become good Sons, and willing Tenants to that Church they had so lately spoil'd, may make us all piously believe, that God almighty would not have been at the Expence and Charge of such a Miracle, so manifested himself to us in such a Deliverance; but in behalf of a Church very acceptable to him, and which shall continue to the End of the World, and against which the Gates of Hell shall not be able to prevail.

WE may tell those desperate Wretches, who yet harbour in their Thoughts wicked Designs against the sacred Person of the King, in order to the compassing their own Imaginations, that God almighty would not have led him thro' so many Wildernesses of Afflictions of all kinds, conducted him thro' so many Perils by Sea, and Perils by Land, snatched him out of the midst of his Kingdom, when it was not worthy of him, when they thought themselves so sure of him, that they would bid so cheap and so vile a Price for him; he would not in that Article have so cover'd him with a Cloud, that he travail'd even with some Pleasure and great Observation through the Midst of his Enemies; he would not so wonderfully have new modelled that Army, so inspir'd their Hearts, and the Hearts of the whole Nation, with an honest and impatient Longing for the Return of their dear Sovereign; and in the mean time have so exercised him (which had

little less of Providence in it than the other) with those unnatural, or, at least, unusual Disrespects and Reproaches abroad, that he might have a harmless and innocent Appetite to his own Country, and return to his own People with a full Value, and the whole unwaisted Bulk of his Affections, without being corrupted or bias'd by extraordinary foreign Obligations. God almighty would not have done all this, but for a Servant whom he will preserve as the Apple of his own Eye, and always defend from the most secret Machinations of his Enemies.

* *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

* *From a
Speech to
both Hou-
ses of Par-
liament,
at their O-
pening,
May 8.
1661.*

I HAVE besought your good Nature and Indulgence towards some of your weak Patients, if by it they can be brought to follow and submit to your Prescriptions for their Health; nor is it reasonable to imagine, that the Distempers of twenty Years can be rectify'd and subdu'd in twelve Months; there must be a natural Time, and natural Applications allow'd for it: But there are a sort of your Patients, that I must recommend to your utmost Vigilance, utmost Severity, and to no Part of your Lenity and Indulgence; such who are so far from valuing your Prescriptions, that they look not upon you as their Physicians, but their Patients; such, who, instead of repenting any Thing they have done amiss, repeat every Day the same Crimes, for the Indemnity whereof, the Act of Oblivion was provided. These are
seditions

sedition Preachers, who cannot be contented to be dispens'd with for their full Obedience to some Laws establish'd, without reproaching and inveighing against those Laws how establish'd soever; who tell their Auditories, that the Apostle meant, when he bid them stand to their Liberties, that they should stand to their Arms; and who, by repeating the very Expressions, and teaching the very Doctrine they set on Foot in the Year 1640, sufficiently declare, that they have no Mind that Twenty Years should put an End to the Miseries we have undergone.

W H A T good Christian can think without Horror of these *Ministers of the Gospel*, who, by their Function, should be Messengers of Peace, and are in their Practice the only Trumpets of War, and Incendiaries towards Rebellion? How much more Christian was that *Athenian Nun* in *Plutarch*, and how shall she rise up in Judgment against these Men, who, when *Alcibiades* was condemn'd by the publick Justice of the State, and a Decree made, that the Religious, the Priests and the Nuns, should revile and curse him, stoutly refus'd to perform that Office, saying, *That she was profess'd Religious, to pray and to bless, not to curse and ban.* And if the Person and Place can improve and aggravate the Offence, as no doubt it doth, before God and Man, methinks the preaching Rebellion and Treason out of the Pulpit should be as much worse than advancing it in the Market; as poisoning a Man at the Communion

would be worse than killing him at a Tavern :
In fine, if you do not provide for the thorough
quenching these Firebrands, King, Lords and
Commons shall be their meanest Subjects; and
the whole Kingdom kindled into one general
Flame.

* Part of
the Lord
Chancel-
lor's An-
swer to Sir
Edward
Turner,
Speaker of
the House
of Com-
mons,
May, 10,
1661.

* Y O U have made, Mr. Speaker, a very live-
ly Description of the Extravagancy of that
Confusion which the poor Nation groan'd un-
der, when they would throw off a Government,
they had liv'd and prosper'd under so many
Ages, indeed from the Time of being a Nati-
on, and which is as natural to them as their
Food or their Raiment, to model a new one
for themselves, which they knew no more how
to do, than the naked *Indians* know how to
dress themselves in the *French* Fashion; when
(as you say) all Ages, Sexes, and Degrees, all
Professions and Trades, would become Refor-
mers; when the Common People of *England*
would represent the Commons of *England*, and
abject Men, who could neither write nor read,
would make Laws for the Government of the
most heroick, and most learned Nation in
the World: And it was the grossest and most
ridiculous Pageant that great *Impostor* ever ex-
pos'd to publick View, when he gave up the
Nation to be dispos'd of by a handful of poor
mechanick Persons, who, finding they knew not
what to do with it, would (he was sure) give
it back to him again, as they shortly did, which
made

made his Title compleat to the Government he meant to exercise. And, I am persuaded, that Monster, *Common-wealth*, cost this Nation more in the few Years she was begot, born and brought up, and in her Funeral (which was the best Expence of all) than the Monarchy has done these six Hundred Years.

* *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

Machiavel, who, they say, is an Author much studied of late in this Kingdom, to extol his own excellent Judgment and Insight in History, in which, indeed, he was a Master, would persuade Men to believe, that the true Reason why so many unexpected Accidents and Mischiefs fall out, to the Destruction of States and Empires, is, because their Governors have not observ'd the same Mischiefs heretofore in History, and from whence they proceeded, and what Progress they made; which, he says, if they had done, they might easily have preserv'd themselves from Ruin, and prevented the Inconveniences which have fallen out. I am sure, you are all good Historians, and need only to resort to the Records of your own Memories. Remember how your Peace hath been formerly disturb'd, by what Contrivance and Artifices the People have been alarm'd with unreasonable and unnatural Fears and Jealousies, and what dismal Effects those Fears and Jealousies have produc'd. Remember how near Monarchy hath been dissolv'd, and the Law subverted,

* *From a Speech to both Houses of Parliament, May 19. 1662. being at that Time prorogu'd.*

under Pretence of reforming and supporting Government, Law, and Justice: And if we suffer the same Enemy to break in upon us at the same Avenues; if we suffer our Peace to be blown up by the same Trains and Machinations, we shall be held very ill Historians, and worse Politicians.

T H E R E is an Enemy amongst us, of whom I doubt, we are not jealous enough; and towards whom we cannot be too vigilant; and, in truth, in comparison of whom, we may reasonably undervalue all other Enemies; that is, the *Republicans*, the Commonwealths-men, who are every Day calling in Aid of the Law, that they may overthrow and abolish the Law, which they know to be their irreconcilable Enemy. Indeed, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, there is a very great Party of those Men in every Faction of Religion, who truly have no Religion, but as the Pretence serves to advance that Faction. You cannot be too solicitous, too inquisitive after these Men, who are restless in their Counsels, and wonderfully punctual and industrious in their Correspondencies, which they maintain abroad, as well as at home: And you cannot doubt they have Encouragements enough abroad; few of our Neighbours love us so exceedingly well, but they would be glad to see us entangled in domestick Broils.



TO THE
Right Honourable,
THE
Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*,
IN
PARLIAMENT

ASSEMBLED:
THE
Humble PETITION and ADDRESS
OF
Edward Earl of CLARENDON.

May it please your Lordships,



CANNOT express the insupportable Trouble and Grief of Mind, I sustain under the Apprehensions of being misrepresented to your Lordships; and when I hear how much of your Lordship's Time hath been spent upon the
Men

Mention of me, as it is attended with more publick Consequence, and of the difference in Opinion, which hath already, or may probably arise betwixt your Lordships and the Honourable House of Commons, whereby the great and weighty Affairs of the Kingdom may be obstructed, in a Time of so general Dissatisfaction. I am very unfortunate to find myself under two very disadvantageous Reflections, which are in no Degree applicable to me.

THE First, From the greatness of my Estate and Fortune, collected and made in so few Years; which, if it be proportionable to what is reported, may give reasonable Cause for my Integrity to be suspected.

THE Second, That I have been the sole Manager and Chief Minister of all the Transactions of State since the King's Return into *England*, to *August* last; and therefore that all Miscarriages and Misfortunes ought to be imputed to me and my Counsels.

Concerning my Estate, your Lordships will not believe, that after Malice and Envy have been so inquisitive and sharp-sighted, I will offer any Thing to your Lordships, but what is exactly true: And I do assure your Lordships in the first Place, that (excepting the King's Bounty) I have never receiv'd or taken one Penny, but what was generally understood to be the just and lawful Perquisite of my Office, by the constant Practice of the best Times; which I do, (in my own Judgment) conceive to be

be that of my Lord *Coventry*, and my Lord *Elsemere*, the Practice of which I constantly observ'd; altho' the Office in both their Times was, lawfully, worth double than what it was to me, and I do believe now is.

T H A T all the Courtesies and Favours which I have been able to obtain from the King, or other Persons, in Church or State, or *Westminster-Hall*, have never been, to me, worth five Pounds; so that your Lordships may be confident I am as innocent from Corruption, as from any disloyal Thoughts; which, after near thirty Years Service of the Crown, in some Difficulties and Distress, I did never expect, would have been objected to me in mine Age. And I assure your Lordships, and I will make it very manifest, that the several Sums of Money, and some Parcels of Land, which his Majesty hath bountifully bestow'd upon me since his Return into *England*, are worth more than all I have amounts to: So far I am from advancing my Estate by indirect Means. And tho' this Bounty of his Majesty hath very far exceeded my Merits, or my Expectations, yet some others have been as fortunate, at least in the same Bounty, who had as small Pretences to it, and have no great Reason to envy my Condition. I had the good Fortune to serve a Master of very great Judgment and Understanding, and to be always joyn'd with Persons of great Ability and Experience; without whose Advice and Concurrence, never any Thing hath
been

been done. Before his Majesty's coming into *England*, he was constantly attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, the late Lord *Culpeper*, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, who were equally trusted with myself, and without whose joynt Advice and Concurrence, when they were all present, (as some of them always were) I never gave any Counsel.

As soon as it pleas'd God to bring his Majesty into *England*, he establish'd his Privy Council, and, shortly, out of them, a number of honourable Persons of great Reputation, (who, for the most part, are still alive) as a Committee for foreign Affairs, and Consideration of such Things, as the Nature of them require much Secresy: And with these Persons he vouchsafed to joyn me, and I am confident the Committee never transacted any Thing of Moment (his Majesty being always present) without presenting the same to the Council-Board: And I must appeal to them concerning my Carriage, and whether we were not all of one Mind in all Matters of Importance: For more than two Years, I never knew any Difference in the Council, or that there were any Complaints in the Kingdom; which I wholly impute to his Majesty's great Wisdom, and the intire Concurrence of his Council, without the Vanity of assuming any Thing to myself: And therefore, I hope, I shall not be singly charg'd with any Thing that hath since fallen out amiss.

BUT

BUT from the Time that Mr. Secretary Nicholas was remov'd from his Place, [*which was on the 2d of October, 1662. and no more but one Year and four Months since the Restoration, and the Earl's prime Ministry,*] there were great Alterations; and whosoever knew any Thing of the Court or Council, knew well how much my Credit, since that Time, hath been diminish'd, (tho' his Majesty graciously vouchsafed still to have my Advice in most of his Affairs;) nor hath there been from that Time to this, above one or two Persons brought into the Council, or preferr'd to any considerable Office in the Court, who have been of my intimate Acquaintance, or suspected to have any Kindness for me; but most of them known to have been very long my Enemies, and of different Judgment and Principles from me, both in Church and State; and who have taken all Opportunities to have lessen'd my Credit to the King, and with all other Persons, by misrepresenting and misreporting all that I said or did; and persuading Men, that I had done them some Prejudice with his Majesty, or cross'd them in some of their Pretences, tho' his Majesty's Goodness and Justice was such, that it made little Impression on him.

In my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes of the Kingdom have proceeded from the War, to which it was notoriously known that I was always most averse; and may, without Vanity, say, I did not only foresee, but I did declare

declare the Mischiefs we should run into, by entering into a War before any Alliance with the Neighbour Princes: And that it may not be imputed to his Majesty's want of Care, or the Negligence of his Counsellors, that no such Alliances were enter'd into; I must take the boldness to say, that his Majesty left nothing unattempted in order thereunto: And knowing very well that *France* resolv'd to bring a War upon *Spain*, as soon as his Catholick Majesty should depart this World; which being much sooner expected by them, they had in the two Winters before been at great Charge in providing plentiful Magazines of all Provisions upon the Frontiers, that they might be ready for the War: his Majesty us'd all possible Means to prepare and dispose the *Spaniards* with that Apprehension, offering his Friendship to that Degree, as might be for the Security and Benefit of both Crowns: But *Spain* flattering itself, that *France* would not break with them, at least, that they would not give them any Cause, by administering Matter of Jealousy to them, never made any real Approach towards Friendship with his Majesty, but both by their Ambassadors here, and to his Majesty's Ambassadors at *Madrid*, always insisted as Preliminaries, upon the giving up of *Dunkirk*, *Tangier*, and *Jamaica*.

BUT *France* had an Ambassador here, to whom a Project for a Treaty was offer'd; and the Lord *Hollis*, his Majesty's Ambassador at
Paris,

Paris, us'd all Endeavours to promote and prosecute this Treaty; yet it was quickly discern'd, that the principal Design of *France* was to draw his Majesty into such a nearer Alliance as might advance the Design, without which, they had no mind to enter into the Treaty propos'd.

AND this was the state of Affairs, when the War was entred into with the *Dutch*; from which Time, either concern'd themselves with the making Alliance with *England*.

As I did, from my Soul, abhor the entring into this War, so I never presum'd to give any Advice or Counsel for the Way of managing it, but by opposing any Propositions which seem'd to the late Lord Treasurer, and myself, to be unreasonable; as the Payment of the Sea-men with Tickets, and many other Particulars which added to the Expence.

My Enemies took all Occasions to inveigh against me, and making Friendship with others, out of the Council of more licentious Principles, as who knew well enough how much I dislik'd and complain'd of the Liberty they took to themselves of reviling all Counsel, and Counsellors, and turning all Things serious and secret into Ridicule: They took all Ways imaginable, to render me ungrateful to all sorts of Men, (whom I shall be compell'd to name in my own Defence) persuading those that miscarried in any of their Designs, that it was the Chancellor's Doing, whereof I never knew any Thing.

HOWEVER,

HOWEVER, they could not withdraw the King's Favour from me, who was still pleas'd to use my Service with others; nor was there ever any Thing done but upon the Joint Advice of at least the Major part of those that were concern'd. And as his Majesty commanded my Service in the late Treaties, so I never gave the least advice in private, nor wrote one Letter to any Person in any of those Negotiations, but upon the Advice of the Council; and after it was read in Council, or at least by the King himself, and some other. And if I prepar'd any Instructions or Memorials, it was by the King's Command, and the Request of the Secretaries, who desir'd my Assistance: Nor was it any Wish of mine own, that any Ambassador should give me Account of the Transactions; but to the Secretaries, with whom I was always ready to advise: Nor am I conscious to my self of ever having given Advice that hath prov'd mischievous or inconvenient to his Majesty: And I have been so far from being the Sole Manager of Affairs, that I have not in the whole last Year been above twice with his Majesty in any Room alone, and very seldom in the two or three Years preceeding.

AND since the Parliament at *Oxford*, it hath been very visible that my Credit hath been very little, and that very few Things have been harkened unto, which have been propos'd
by

by me, but contradicted, *eo nomine*, because propos'd by me.

I most humbly beseech your Lordships to remember the Office and Trust I had for seven Years; in which, in Discharge of my Duty, I was oblig'd to stop and obstruct many Mens Pretences, and to refuse to set the Seal to many Mens Pardons, and other Grants, which would have been profitable to them which procur'd them; and many whereof, upon my Representation to his Majesty, were for ever stop'd, which naturally have rais'd many Enemies to me.

AND my frequent concurring with the late Lord Treasurer, with whom I had the Honour to have a long and fast Friendship to his Death, in presenting several Excesses and Exorbitances, (the Yearly Issue so far exceeding the Revenue) provok'd many Persons concern'd, of great Power and Credit, to do me all the ill Offices they could. And yet I may faithfully say, that I never meddled with any Part of the Revenue, or the Administration of it, but when I was desir'd by the late Lord Treasurer to give him my Assistance and Advice, (having had the Honour to serve the Crown as Chancellor of the Exchequer) which was for the most Part in his Majesty's Presence.

NOR have I ever been in the least Degree concern'd in Point of Profit, in the letting any Part of his Majesty's Revenue; nor have ever treated or debated it, but in his Majesty's Pre-

rence; in which my Opinion only concur'd always with the Major Part of the Counsellors who were present.

ALL which, upon Examination, will be made manifest to your Lordships, how much soever my Integrity is blasted by the Malice of those, who, I am confident, do not believe themselves. Nor have I in my Life, upon all the Treaties, or otherwise, received to the Value of one Shilling from all the Kings and Princes in the World, (except the Books of the *Louvre* Print, sent me by the Chancellor of *France* by that King's Direction) but from my own Master, to whose entire Service, and to the Good and Welfare of my Country, no Man's Heart was ever more devoted.

This being my present Condition, I do most humbly beseech your Lordships to retain a favourable Opinion of me, and to believe me to be innocent from those foul Aspersions, until the contrary shall be prov'd; which I am sure can never be, by any Men worthy to be believ'd. And since the Distemper of the Time, and the Difference between the two Houses in the present Debate, with the Power and Malice of my Enemies, who give out, that they shall prevail with his Majesty to prorogue or dissolve this Parliament in Displeasure, and threaten to expose me to the Rage
and

and Fury of the People; may make me be look'd upon as the Cause which obstructs the King's Service, and the Unity and Peace of the Kingdom: I must humbly beseech your Lordships, that I may not forfeit your Lordship's Favour and Protections by withdrawing my self from so powerful a Prosecution; in Hopes I may be able, by such withdrawing, hereafter to appear, and make my Defence: When his Majesty's Justice, to which I shall always submit, may not be obstructed nor controuled by the Power and Malice of those who have sworn my Destruction.



*The Lord CLARENDON's Loyal Dedication
of his Survey of HOBBS'S Leviathan to King
CHARLES II. Written after his Banishment.*

May it please your Majesty,



T is one of the false and evil Doctrines, which Mr. *Hobbes* hath published in his *Leviathan*, (p. 114.) That a banished Subject, during his Banishment, is not a Subject. And (p. 165.)

that a banish'd Man is a lawful Enemy of the Commonwealth that banish'd him, as being no Member of the same. I thank God, from the Time that I found my self under the insupportable Burden of your Majesty's Displeasure, and under the infamous brand of Banishment, I have not thought my self one Minute absolv'd in the least Degree from the Obligation of the strictest Duty to your Person, and of the highest Gratitude that the most oblig'd Servant can stand bound in, or from the Affection that a true and faithful *Englishman* still owes, and must still pay to his Country. And as I have every Day since pray'd for the Safety of your Person, and the Prosperity of your Affairs, with the same Devotion and Integrity as for the Salvation of my own Soul; so I have exercised my Thoughts in nothing so much, as how to spend my Time in doing somewhat that may prove for your Majesty's Service and Honour. And therefore as soon as I had finish'd (as far as I am able, without the Supply of those Memorials and Records which are fit to be enquir'd into) a Work at least recommended, if not enjoyn'd to me by your blessed Father, and approv'd, and in some Degree perus'd by your Majesty, (which I hope will be to the Honour of his Majesty's Memory, and your own Magnanimous Sufferings) I could not think of any thing in my Power to perform of more Importance to your Majesty's Service, than to answer Mr. *Hobbs's Leviathan*, and confute the Doctrine

Doctrines therein contain'd, so pernicious to the Sovereign Power of Kings, and destructive to the Affection and Allegiance of Subjects; notwithstanding which by the Protection the Author hath from the Act of Indemnity, and I know not what other Connivance, it is manifest enough, that many odious Opinions, the Seed whereof was first sowed in that Book, have been since propagated, to the extreme Scandal of the Government in Church and State.

I have often heretofore, when I had Liberty for that Presumption, advertis'd your Majesty, of the Wickedness of very many of the Principles upon which that whole Book is supported, and was not without some Hope of prevailing with your Majesty to give your self the Leisure, and the Trouble, to peruse and examine some Parts of it, in Confidence that they would not sooner be read, than detested by you; whereas the frequent reciting of loose and disjoynted Sentences, and bold Inferences, for the Novelty and Pleasantness of the Expressions, the Reputation of the Gentleman for Parts and Learning, with his Confidence in Conversation, and especially the Humour and Inclination of the Time to all kind of Paradoxes, have too much prevail'd with many of great Wit and Faculties, without reading the Context, or observation of the Consequences, to believe his Propositions to be more innocent, or less mischievous, than upon a more deliberate Perusal they will

find to be ; and the Love of his Person and Company have render'd the Iniquity of his Principles less discernible.

MR. *Hobbes* consulted too few Authors, and made Use of too few Books ; the Benefit of which my present Condition has also depriv'd me of ; altho the want, which I most complain of, is of Friends to examine and controul, upon the reading any Impropropriety or Indecency in my Expressions, or Defect of Vigor in my Ratiocination ; towards the Weighing whereof I have had little Contribution. However, I presume to think, that the Antidote, how weak spirited soever, is seasonable to be administred, to expel or allay the Poison that is still working very furiously. And if I know any Thing of the Constitution of the Government of *England*, and of the Nature and Temper of that faithful Nation, the publishing of this poor Discourse may be of some Use and Service to your Majesty ; that all the World may know, how much you abhor all those extravagant and absurd Privileges, which no Christian Prince ever enjoy'd or affected. The Consideration of this only hath dispos'd me to expose my self to the Licence of the Tongues and Pens of all those, who will never be without Inclinations rather to insult upon my Fortune, and to reproach my Person, than to pity my Weakness, or rectify my Understanding.

If the prefixing your Majesty's Name before it, as if you would countenance so disgrac'd and degraded

degraded a Person, or give any Protection to a Work of which he is the Author, does not find your Majesty's Approbation; I have appointed that Presumption to be declin'd, being stedfastly resolv'd, by God's Blessing never to displease you whilst I live, or after I am Dead; and retaining still a Hope, with some Confidence (which sustains my weak decayed Spirits) that your Majesty will at some Time call to your Remembrance, my long and incorrupted Fidelity to your Person, and Service; and that tho' I am for the present depriv'd of that most valued and precious Relation, your Majesty will not be offended, that I assume the Title of being,

Your *MAJESTY'S*

Most Faithful and Obedient Subject,

And one of the oldest Servants

Moulins,

May 10.

1673.

that is now living, to your Father

and your self,

CLARENDON.



A
LETTER

FROM THE

Earl of CLARENDON,

TO THE

DUKE of YORK.

SIR,



HAVE not presum'd in any manner to approach your Presence, since I have been marked with the Brand of Banishment; and I should still, with the same Awe, forbear this Presumption, if I did not believe myself bound, by all the Obligations of Duty, to make this Address to you.

I have been too much acquainted with the Presumption and Impudence of the Times, in
raising

raising false and scandalous Imputations and Reproaches upon innocent and worthy Persons of all Qualities and Degrees, to give any Credit to those bold Whispers which have been long scatter'd abroad, concerning your Wife's being shaken in her Religion; but when those Whispers break out into a Noise, and publick Persons begin to report, that the Dutches was become a Roman Catholick; and when I heard that many worthy Persons, of most unquestionable Devotion to your Royal Highness, are not without some Fears and Apprehensions of it; and that many Reflections are made from thence, to the Prejudice of your Royal Highness's Person, and even of the King's Majesty: I beg it may not mis-become me, at what distance soever, to cast myself at your Feet, and to beseech you to look to this Matter in Time, and to apply some Antidote to expel the Poyson of it.

It is not possible that your Royal Highness can be without Zeal and entire Devotion for that Church, for the Purity and Preservation whereof, your Royal Father made himself a Sacrifice; and to the Restoration of which, you have contributed so much yourself; and which highly deserves the King's Protection and yours, since there can be no possible Defection in the Hearts of the People, whilst due Reverence is paid to the Church. Your Wife is so generally believ'd to have so perfect Duty, and entire Resignation to the Will of your Royal Highness, that any Defection in her
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from her Religion will be imputed to want of Circumspection in you, or not using your Authority, or to your Connivance. I need not tell you the ill Consequence that such a Mutation would be attended with, in relation to your Royal Highness, and even to the King himself; whose greatest Security (under God) is in the Affections and Duty of his Protestant Subjects. Your Royal Highness well knows, how far I have always been from wishing that the Roman Catholicks should be prosecuted with Severity; but I less wish it should ever be in their Power to be able to prosecute those who differ from them, since we well know how little Moderation they would, or could use. And if that, which People so much talk of (I hope without Ground) should fall out, it must very probably raise a greater Storm against the Roman Catholicks in general, than moderate Men could wish; since after such a Breach, any Jealousy of their Presumption would seem reasonable.

I have wrote to the Dutchess with the Freedom and Affection of a troubled and perplexed Father; and do most humbly beseech your Royal Highness, by your Authority, to rescue her from bringing Mischief on you and yours, that can never be repair'd; and to think it worthy your Wisdom to remove and dispel those Reproaches (how false soever) by better Evidence than Contempt. And I hope you do believe, that no Severity that I have, or can undergo,

undergo, shall in any Degree lessen or diminish my most profound Duty to his Majesty or your Royal Highness ; but that I do with all imaginable Obedience, submit to your good Pleasure in all Things.

*God preserve your Royal Highness and
keep me in your Favour,*

S I R,

Your Royal Highness's most Humble,

and most Obedient Servant.

CLARENDON.

*A LETTER from the Earl of Clarendon to
the Dutcheſs of YORK.*

Daughter,

YOU have much Reason to believe, that I have no Mind to trouble you, or displease you ; especially in an Argument that is so unpleasant and grievous to myself. But as no distance of Place, that is between us in respect of your Residence, or the greater Distance in respect to the high Condition you are in, can make me less your Father, or absolve me from performing those Obligations, which that Relation requires from me ; so, when I receive any credible Advertisement of what reflects upon you,
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in Point of Conscience, Honour or Discretion, I ought not to omit the informing you of it, or administering such Advice to you, as to my Understanding seems reasonable; and which I must still hope, will have some Credit with you. I will confess to you, that what you wrote to me many Months since, upon those Reproaches, which I told you were generally reported, concerning your Defection in Religion, gave me so much Satisfaction, that I believed them to proceed from that ill Spirit of the Time, which delights in Slanders and Calumnies: But I must tell you, the same Report increases of late very much, and I myself saw a Letter the last Week from *Paris*, from a Person who said, the *English* Ambassador assur'd him the Day before, that the Dutcheſs was become a Roman Catholick; and which makes greater Impression upon me, I am assur'd, that many good Men in *England*, who have great Affection for you and me, and who have thought nothing more impossible, than such a Change in you, are at present, under much Affliction, with the Observation of a great Change in you, in your Course of Life, and that constant Exercise of your Devotion, which was so notorious; and do apprehend from your frequent Discourses, that you have not the same Veneration, which you us'd to have, for the Church of *England*; the Church in which you were baptiz'd, and a Church the best constituted and most free from Error of any Christian Church this Day in the World;

World ; and that some Persons, by their Insinuations, have prevail'd with you to have a better Opinion of that, which is most opposite to it, the Church of *Rome*, than the Integrity of it deserves. It is not in my Power to believe that your Will and Understanding (with God's Blessing upon both) can suffer you to be shaken, further than with melancholy Reflections upon the Iniquity and Wickedness of the Age we live in ; which discredits all Religion, and which, with equal Licence, breaks into the Professions of all, and prevails upon the Members of all Churches, and whose Manners will have no Benefit from the Faith of any Church.

I presume you do not intangle yourself in the particular Controversies between us and *Rome*, or think yourself a competent Judge of all the Difficulties, which occur therein. And therefore it must be some fallacious Argument of the Antiquity and Universality (constantly urged by Men who know less than many of those you were acquainted with, and ought less to be believ'd by you) that can raise any Doubts or Scruples in you. If you will with equal Temper hear those, who are able to inform you in all such Particulars, it is not possible for you to suck in that Poyson, which can only corrupt and prevail over you, by stopping your own Ears, and shutting your own Eyes. There are but two Persons in the World, who have greater Authority with you, than I can pretend to ; and they, I am sure, suffer more in this Rumour,
and

and would suffer much more, if there were ground for it, than I can do: And truly I am as unlike to be deceiv'd myself or to deceive you, as any Man, who endeavours to pervert you in your Religion. And therefore, I beseech you, let me have so much Credit with you, as to persuade you to communicate any Doubts or Scruples, which occur to you, before you suffer them to make too deep an Impression upon you.

THE common Argument, That there is no Salvation out of the Church, and that the Church of *Rome* is that only true Church, is both irrational and untrue. There are many Churches in which Salvation may be attained; and there were many even in the Apostles Times, otherwise they would not have directed their Epistles to so many several Churches, in which there were different Opinions receiv'd, and very different Doctrines taught. There is indeed but one Faith, in the which we can be saved, the stedfast Belief of the Birth, Passion and Resurrection of our Saviour, and every Church, that receives and embraces that Faith, is in a State of Salvation. If the Apostles preach true Doctrine, the Reception and Retention of many Errors do not destroy the Essence of a Church: If it did, the Church of *Rome* would be in an ill (if not worse) Condition than most other Christian Churches; because its Errors are of a greater Magnitude, and more destructive to Religion. Let not the canting Discourse of the Universality and Extent of that Church (which

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has as little of Truth as the rest) prevail with you. They, who will imitate the greatest Part of the World, must turn Heathens; for it is generally believ'd, above half the World is possess'd by them; and that the *Mahometans* possess above half of the Remainder; and there is little question, that of the rest which is inhabited by Christians, one Part of four is not of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; and, God knows, in that very Communion there is as great a Discord in Opinion, and in Matters of as great Moment as is between any other Christians.

I hear, you do in publick Discourses dislike some Things in the Church of *England*, as the Marriage of the Clergy, which is a Point that the *Roman* Catholicks will not pretend to be of the Effence of Religion, and is in Use in many Places, which are of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; as in *Bohemia*, and those Parts of the *Greek* Church, which submit to the *Roman*; and all Men know, that in the late Council of *Trent*, the Sacrament in both kinds, and Liberty for the Clergy to marry, were very passionately press'd both by the Emperor and the King of *France* for their Dominions, and it was afterwards granted to *Germany*, tho' under such Conditions as made it ineffectual. Which, however, shews, that it was not, nor ever can be looked on as Matter of Religion. Christianity was many hundred Years old, before such a Restraint was ever heard of in

in the Church, and when it was endeavour'd, it met with great Opposition, and was never submitted to. And as the positive Inhibition seems absolutely unlawful; so the Inconveniences that result from thence, will, upon a just Disquisition, be found superior to those which attend that Liberty, which Christian Religion permits.

THOSE Arguments which are not strong enough to draw Persons from the *Roman* Communion, to that of the Church of *England*, (when Custom, Education and a long stupid Resignation of all their Faculties to their Teachers, usually shut out all Reasons to the contrary) may yet be abundantly able to retain those who have been baptiz'd, bred and instructed in the Grounds and Principles of that Religion, which are, in Truth, not only founded upon the clear Authority of Scripture, but upon the consent of Antiquity, and the Practice of the Primitive Church: And Men, who look into Antiquity, know well by what Corruption and Violence, and with what constant and continual Oppositions those Opinions, which are contrary to ours, crept into the World; and how unwarrantably the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, (which alone supports all the rest,) came to prevail, who hath no more Pretence of Authority and Power in *England*, than the Bishop of *Paris* or *Toledo* can reasonably lay claim to: And is so far from being Matter of Catholick Religion, that the Pope hath

so much and no more to do in *France* or *Spain*, or any other Catholick Dominions, than the Crown, Laws and Constitutions of the several Kingdoms give him leave; which makes him so little, if at all, consider'd in *France*, and so much in *Spain*. And therefore the *English* Catholics, who attribute so much to him, make themselves very unwarrantably of another Religion, than the Catholick Church professeth, and without doubt, they who desert the Church of *England*, of which they are Members, and become thereby disobedient to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws of their Country, and therein renounce their Subjection to the State, as well as to the Church (which are grievous Sins) had need of a better Excuse, than the meeting with some Doubt, which they could not answer; and less than a manifest Evidence, that their Salvation is desperate in that Communion, cannot serve their Turns. And they, who imagine they have such an Evidence, ought rather to suspect, that their Understanding hath forsaken them, and that they are become mad, than that the Church, which is replenisht with all Learning and Piety requisite, can betray them into Perdition.

I beseech you to consider, (which, I hope, will over-rule all those Ordinary Doubts and Objections, which may be infused into you) that if you change your Religion, you renounce all Obedience and Affection to your Father, who loves you so tenderly, that such an odious

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Mutation would break his Heart. You condemn your Father and your Mother, (whose incomparable Virtue and Piety, and Devotion hath placed her in Heaven) for having impiously educated you; and you declare the Church and State, to both which you owe Reverence and Subjection, to be, in your Judgment, Antichristian. You bring irreparable Dishonour, Scandal and Prejudice to the Duke your Husband, to whom you ought to pay all imaginable Duty; and who, I presume, is much more precious to you than your own Life; and all possible Ruin to your Children, of whose Company and Conversation you must look to be deprived: For, God forbid, that after such an Apostacy, you should have any Power in the Education of your Children. You have many Enemies, whom you will herein abundantly gratify; and some Friends, whom you will thereby (at least as far as in you lies) perfectly destroy; and afflict many others, who have deserved well of you.

I KNOW, you are not inclin'd to any Part of this Mischiefe; and therefore I offer these Considerations, as all those Particulars would be the infallible Consequence of such a Conclusion. It is to me the saddest Circumstance of my Banishment, that I may not be admitted in such a Season as this, to confer with you; when, I am confident, I could satisfy you in all your Doubts, and make it appear to you, that there are many Absurdities in the *Roman* Catholick Religion,

Religion, inconsistent with your Judgment and Understanding, and many Impieties inconsistent with your Conscience : So that before you can submit to the Obligations of that Church, you must divest yourself of your natural Reason and common Sense; and captivate the Dictates of your own Conscience, to the Imposition of an Authority, which hath not any Pretence to oblige or advise you.

IF you will not with Freedom communicate your Doubts, which do occur, to those near you; of whose Learning and Piety, you have had very great Experience; let me conjure you, by all the Power of a tender and afflicted Father, to impart them to me, and to expect my Answer before you suffer them to prevail over you.

God bless you and yours.

H. L. L.

Henry Smith



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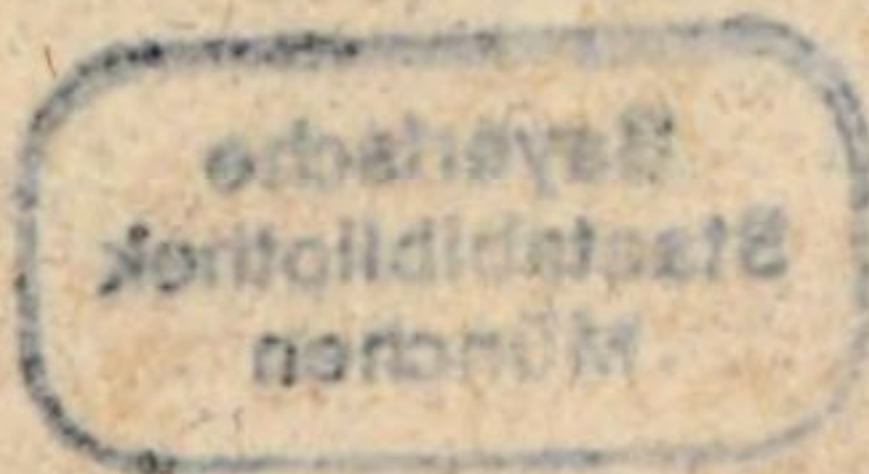
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